The Iron Age coinages of the south midlands, with particular reference to distribution and deposition.

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ABSTRACT

The Iron Age coinages of the south midlands, with particular reference to distribution and deposition

The last twenty years has seen a great increase in the number of recorded provenanced Iron Age coins. The same period has also seen advances in archaeological ideology particularly with regards to depositional processes and the inter-relationship between material assemblages and their contexts.

This study re-examines existing hypotheses and develops new hypotheses in light of the new data to address fundamental questions about who used Iron Age coins and why. A detailed catalogue of all coins found in the south midlands is included.

After a review of the history of research into Iron Age coins and an overview of the development of British Iron Age coinage, particularly north of the Thames, there is a detailed look at the distributions of each major coin type found in the south midlands. The distributions have produced many interesting conclusions on the primary circulation areas of coins and hence areas of political unity, the position of possible boundaries between such areas, possible issuing authority, relative chronology and the significance of metallic content.

A distribution/expansion theory has been proposed to introduce a non-stylistic approach for identifying the relative chronologies of the issues of Tasciovanus.

An important part of the thesis is an archaeological study of the types of site coins are recovered from, the type, location and date of features containing coins within such sites, and detailed contextual analyses concerning material associations and position within features.

From the contextual analysis it was concluded that most Iron Age coins were deposited in a deliberately structured way in specified locations, often in special votive deposits, were closely associated with other aspects religious ritual activity, and that this role continued into the Roman period.

Mark Curteis, University of Durham 2001

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'The real voyage of discovery consists not in seeking new landscapes but in having new eyes.'

M. Proust

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1. INTRODUCTION

The study of Iron Age coinage is in continual flux and, although there have been many detailed studies on the subject, many fundamental questions about who used Iron Age coinage, when and why have remained largely unanswered. These studies, drawing on contemporary numismatic and archaeological thought, made the best use of data available at the time to produce interesting and valid hypotheses.

During the last twenty years a large amount of new data has become available, partly as a result of increasingly scientific excavation methods, and partly because of the development of metal detecting as a popular hobby. Consequently a considerable amount of new data now exists that was not available to previous scholars trying to determine the nature of Iron Age coinage.

Coinciding with the increasing database has been a radical change in archaeological thought with regards to both the meanings of objects and the processes that led to their being incorporated in the archaeological record. As a result it has become more common place for both the coins, their associated material and their context being carefully recorded, whether this be a metal detecting assemblage from a particular field, or a ditch terminus on a scientific archaeological excavation. Furthermore, the development of ideology concerning depositional processes has resulted in an increased questioning of the inter-relationship between material assemblages and their contexts.

Unfortunately much of the information that has been recorded concerning the coins and their associations still remains unpublished and dispersed amongst the records of archaeological units, museums, site and monument records or the finders themselves. Therefore, having identified the importance of the potential database, all the available information is brought together and synthesised to produce Appendix A. This is a list of all the coins recovered from the study area for which information was available. All possible sources were checked for information. The study area (comprising Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire) was chosen because it covered a sufficiently large area to enable regional trends to be

discerned, overlapped several supposed late Iron Age territorial areas and incorporated areas in which the author has professional knowledge and contacts.

The new data is used to re-examine existing hypotheses and develop new hypotheses on who produced Iron Age coinage, what function or functions the coins may have fulfilled within the society in which they circulated and to see if this function changed through time. The hypotheses are examined from an archaeological perspective.

After a review of the history of research into Iron Age coins and a general survey of recent work the thesis gives an overview of the development of British Iron Age coinage, particularly north of the Thames. The main body of the research is divided into two main areas. The first considers the distribution of coin types and looks at the geographical spread of individual issues and conclusions drawn from other distribution studies are re-evaluated against the greater resolution produced by the new distribution plots.

Overall distributions are examined to describe primary areas of circulation and help elucidate, where possible, issuing authorities. By looking at the differences in distributions of typological related issues it could be possible to ascertain if this has any bearing on relative chronology. A close examination of the peripheries of distribution areas may determine the nature of any boundary, see if these are static or fluid through time and investigate whether changing boundaries have a bearing on relative chronology. Where issuers are named, the extent of their authority can be determined, and distributions of inscribed issues can be compared against ascribed issues to test hypothetical attributions based on typology. When several named issuers are thought to be contemporary (eg. Rues, Dias and Andoco) and the overall distributions are similar, the distributions can be examined on a more localised scale to identify foci, or centres of authority, within the overall distributions to test theories concerning sub-tribal division. Finally, it may be possible to look more closely at site collections to see what information can be inferred on site chronology and controlling authority from a quantitative analysis of phased regional issues.

The second part of the thesis looks at contextual associations in detail to test hypotheses on the use and function of coins from an archaeological perspective. It blends

and develops Haselgrove's (1987) pioneering study on the context of deposition of coins together with new ideas on site formation processes and developments in material culture studies (e.g. Hill 1995a).

To attempt to understand the function of coins it is necessary to understand where they were used. A study will be made of the nature or types of site Iron Age coins tend to come from in terms of both morphology and material culture. It may be that particular categories of site are characterised by repeating patterns of finds assemblages. Against these characteristics the main coin producing sites within the area covered by this thesis can be compared to determine both their status and to identify repeating patterns.

Included in the second main part of the study is an examination of the individual features from which coins have been recovered to record whether there is any preference for feature type, and to see if this changes through time, in order to understand if the deposition of a coin is an accidental or a deliberate act. Closely allied with this is a detailed analysis of contextual associations of coins with other categories of find, again to try to find out if coins were deliberately deposited and if coins can be seen to form part of a deliberately structured depositional practice.

The research is concluded with a look at the symbolism of coins to see if there is any observable patterns to be discerned in depositional pattern between sites of different status or between features of different category as this too may be directly related to the function of the coins.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE HISTORY OF IRON AGE COIN STUDIES

The study of Iron Age coinage dates back as far as the late sixteenth century when Camden (1586), recognising that coins were struck in pre-Roman Britain, laid the earliest foundations. Camden was the first to make connections between inscribed types and historically attested people (Cunobelin) and places (Camoludunum and Verlamion (the probable Iron Age name for the Roman Verulamium) and even includes woodcuts of such pieces in his second edition (Camden 1600). Despite Camden's work scholars writing in the 18th century often took speculative alternative viewpoints with Wise (1750) attributing coins inscribed TASC to Gaul and CVNO to Spain; while Pettingal (1763) attributed coins inscribed TASCIA to pieces minted by Cunobelin as tribute to be paid to Rome thinking the name was derived from the Latin *taxatio*. Some authors did, however, make some progress in the development of the study with Borlase (1754) suggesting that uninscribed coins predated inscribed coinages and hence predated the Roman invasion and Pegge (1766) attempted to classify the coinage of Cunobelin, but believed him to be the only British issuer of coins. Whatever conclusions the 17th and 18th century writers came to, perhaps their greatest contribution to Iron Age coin studies was in recording finds that otherwise would be lost to us. For example Stukeley (1720, 1762) recorded many finds and the only existing record of the Carn Brea hoard was made by Borlase (1754).

It was not until the 19th century that British Iron Age coins were becoming more closely viewed, not as curiosity pieces, but as important historical and archaeological artefacts. During this period De Lagoy (1826) proved the existence of a pre-Roman British coinage by demonstrating that as Cunobelin's coins were only found in England they were unlikely to be Gallic in origin and Akerman (1849, Pl. 9) published the first archaeological distribution map on which he plotted the find spots of different types to show where they had circulated.

Sir John Evans published *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* in 1864: a meticulous seminal study that recorded different coin types, their inter-relationships and find spots including all previously recorded information. This study laid the foundation stone for all future Iron Age coin studies. Evans was also interested in many aspects of archaeology

and was influenced by Pitt-Rivers and the 'relic-table', wherein finds were laid out by context enabling associations to be made, which was produced for the first time in the excavation report on the Caburn (Pitt-Rivers 1881).

Evans adopted Darwin's view of evolution through descent with variation and used this to produce a chronology of Iron Age coins based on distortion through copying and he noticed that during the later stages of the coinage of Tasciovanus and during the reign of his successor, Cunobelin, that types become increasingly Romanised. Evans also believed, due to economic pressures, coinage gradually became debased through time. From his detailed studies of classical texts Evans speculated that coinage first reached Britain by the means of trade or by direct tribal links via the Belgae and fits this and later developments within a classical framework. Commenting on the find spots of various issues, Evans arranges the coins into regional county groupings, and speculates on the tribe that issued them drawing on classical sources for the names of issuing authorities.

The systematic recording of types and find spots by Evans began the process of understanding where different coin types were produced and circulated. The listing of coins by plate number produced the first detailed reference catalogue of British coins. The resulting framework of issuer's names, tribal attribution and relative chronology still provides the essentials of our modern framework.

As a result of the large number of railways and quarries constructed to drive the industrial revolution the rate of coin discovery rapidly increased giving Evans more material and new types to work with. The large number of new finds led to the production of a *Supplement* (Evans 1890) which included an extra 240 provenances. Despite the advances made by Evans, he ascribed to Britain a number of uninscribed issues (Evans 1860, 25) which, following studies of Gallic finds by de la Tour (1892) and Blanchet (1905), were later recognised to be Gallic in origin. Yet, we should note that some recent authors (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1992a; Burnett 1995, 9; Haselgrove 1999) have shown that some of the thus termed Gallo-Belgic coins were actually produced in Britain (see below p.24 and 25) which highlights the fluidity and continuing state of flux of Iron Age coin studies.

During excavations at Aylesford, Kent, John Evans' son, Arthur Evans (1890) recognised similarities between Aylesford's pottery and that from Belgic cemeteries in northern France. Evans believed that the Aylesford cemetery belonged to the Belgic conquerors mentioned by Caesar (DBG V, 12-14). A similar cemetery was excavated by Bushe-Fox (1925) at Swarling, Kent, who extensively reviewed the similarities between wheel-turned pottery and accompanying metalwork from south-east England. Bushe-Fox (1925) noted, from his study of the so-called Aylesford-Swarling culture (see also Evans 1890, 315-88; Hawkes and Dunning 1931, 150-335; Birchall 1963, 21-9 and 1965, 241-367 and below p.19) that he could recognise two distinct areas of Belgic migration in Britain: the south-east, and central-southern England. Bushe-Fox further suggested that (following contemporary continental opinion) as the continental (known as Gallo-Belgic) imported coins appeared to coincide in date with the other material from these areas that the coins themselves must have been brought across the channel by the Belgic migrants. This was elaborated by Hawkes and Dunning (1930) and by Childe (1947, 251) who states the culture represents 'a genuine folk-movement, involving a mass settlement of Belgic Farmers and craftsmen, not merely a conquest by a handful of foreign warriors'. Although first represented at Aylesford and Swarling it was believed the invaders soon continued up the Thames to Wheathampstead, seen as the forerunner of the *oppidum* (city) of Tasciovanus at nearby Verlamion, and hence making the Catuvellauni a Belgic tribe (e.g. Hawkes and Dunning 1930, Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 20). It was thought that the migrants later advanced into Northamptonshire from evidence at Duston and Weekley (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 249).

The idea that coinage was brought to Britain by waves of migrants or 'invasions' was furthered by Brooke (1933a, 1933b). He considered that the Phillipus stater, used as a prototype for the Gallo-Belgic series, was transmitted via Rome (who acquired the coins by defeating the Macedonians in the second century BC) through trade not direct from Macedon. The earliest coins, Brooke believed, reached Britain's shores through trade (as suggested by Evans) since they appeared to predate the earliest Belgic migrations; later imports being brought by invasions in c.75 BC and c.50 BC into the south-east and central southern England. Areas peripheral to these areas, such as East Anglia and the Midlands, copied these prototypes giving rise to their own distinctive tribal issues. Brooke, progressing the work of Evans, also tried to correlate the dynastic control of

rulers as recorded on inscribed issues to the important centres that at the time were becoming recognised archaeologically (e.g. Colchester and Verlamion) and used distribution maps to identify political areas. The political areas he identified often relied on doubtful tribal attributions.

The work of Brooke was developed by Allen (1944) who completed the fitting in of names known from inscribed coins, but not recorded by classical sources, and modified the hypotheses of Evans for the dating of some others, to produce a tight narrative for the sequence of dynastic rulers in the century before the Roman invasion. Allen, for example, suggested that the Whaddon Chase type staters were not issued by Cassivellaunus as suggested by Brooke (1933a, 123) but slightly later; Addedomaros (seen as a non-Belgic Trinovantian ruler) was viewed as a contemporary rival of Tasciovanus; Andoco was considered to have ruled a tribe to the west of the Catuvellauni during the early part of Cunobelin's reign (*contra* to Brooke (1933a, 126) who placed Andoco as the father of Tasciovanus) and coins issued by Eppillus and Epaticcus were thought to be rulers contemporary with Cunobelin.

In 1960 Allen published his masterwork; *'The Origins of Coinage in Britain: A Reappraisal'*. The work set out to 'describe afresh the origin and early progress of ancient Celtic coinage in Britain' (Allen 1960a, 97). Allen used dating information from the recently discovered Le Catillon hoard, which seemed to provide a *terminus ante quem* for some of the most important early coinages, to advance a new absolute chronology. Archaeological data from excavations at Bagendon, Gloucestershire, suggested to Allen that there had been six successive Belgic invasions of Britain each bringing with it a new Gallo-Belgic coinage, termed Gallo-Belgic A to F, followed by a period of consolidation and development prior to the Roman invasion (Allen 1960a, 127). Furthermore, he saw tribal movements as the only satisfactory method for the introduction of coinage into Britain. Allen follows the same dynastic arrangement of his earlier paper (Allen 1944) but notes that although he then believed that British coins could be divided into those produced by Belgic and non-Belgic tribes he now believed that all coins were indications of Belgic culture and would now note a difference between purely Belgic coins and coins produced by Belgic cultures overlain by classicism (Allen 1960a, 125). The paper resulted in a new neutral classification of the early British

coin types and their regional successors laid out as a detailed gazetteer of provenanced find spots.

The classification achieved by Allen (1960a) was aided by the publication of Commander Mack's *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (Mack 1953) which relied heavily on Allen's earlier work (Allen 1944) in producing a catalogue that both updated Evans' work as well as giving an overview of regional coin distribution and types. The catalogue, which remained the most popular for catalogue referencing British coins until the publication of Van Arsdell's catalogue (Van Arsdell 1989), was revised twice (Mack 1964, 1975), and is still in current use.

Starting with a study of coins of the western region (Allen 1961), Allen followed up his *Origins* paper with a series of regional coin studies. His next study was a sylloge of the coins of the north-east where by using distribution data he transferred the attribution of the series from that of the Brigantes (after Evans) to the Coritani (Allen 1963; this tribe is now referred to as the Corieltauvi after Tomlin 1983). Allen followed this by a study of the coins of East Anglia (Allen 1970), the British potin series (1971) and more specific studies of the gold coinage of Cunobelin (Allen 1975) and of the coinage of Verica (Allen and Haselgrove 1979).

As archaeological interpretation techniques developed during the 1960s and 70s (e.g. Clarke 1968, Binford 1972) the invasion theory expounded in *Origins* was challenged and an alternative and more complex set of hypotheses were developed that allowed a place for indigenous cultural developments (e.g. Cunliffe 1966b, 1978). The same period saw a great increase in archaeological activity and the development of a more detailed archaeological sampling strategy (e.g. Barker 1977) both of which resulted in an increase in both coin finds spots and in other artefactual material. The availability of more material and associated archaeological data led to an emphasis on more exact artefactual comparison and description with corresponding advances in contextual, typological and spatial studies. In light of the methodological advances in what was termed the 'new archaeology' Hodder and Orton (Hodder 1977, Hodder and Orton 1976 fig. 5.82) saw coins as a perfect medium to test hypotheses of spatial analysis and looked at fall-off

patterns from known mints and trend surface analyses to examine the comparison of multiple criteria such as the relationship between coins and Roman roads.

Haselgrove (1982) and Sellwood (1984) have used coins as political indicators, producing distribution maps to try to ascertain areas of tribal control and to locate tribal boundaries. Studies by Collis (1971, 1974, 1981) and Rodwell (1976, 1981a) looked at the social and political implications behind the adoption and function of coinage within society. Rodwell (1976) appears to take the view of the 'formalist' school of economics which interprets ancient economies in terms of the 19th century market economy revolving around supply and demand exchange mechanisms. Collis (1981), on the other hand, takes the 'substantivist' school of Polanyi (1957) and Sahlins (1972) which envisages an economy embedded in social relationships. Theories related to the functional development of coins will be dealt with in greater detail below.

Developments during the last decade have included the production of a major catalogue in Van Arsdell's *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (1989) which included a number of the new varieties found during the upsurge of metal detecting during the 1970s and 1980s. More recently the British Museums' own collection of coins has been published (Hobbs 1996).

As coin studies have developed during the later part of the century an increasingly precise framework and chronology has been developed. The advent of the metal detector and advancing archaeological sampling techniques have produced a large, and growing, body of evidential data being available for study. This, allied with advances in archaeological analytical and numismatic technique, led to more and more detailed questions being asked of the data but with the basic questions of who made the coins and why remaining virtually unresolved.

3. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Developments during the 1970s and 1980s were built on the foundations laid down by the work of Allen (1960a). Although Iron Age studies had been moving away from a purely historical classical numismatic position most studies still used Iron Age coins as passive instruments completely divorcing them from their archaeological context. Even if the coins derived from an excavation they would often appear as a simple list in the finds section of the excavation report divorced from any real interpretation of the site (e.g. Goodburn 1986). Sometimes the coins were used to attempt to answer particular questions but in an isolated way that divorced them from archaeology (e.g. Cunliffe 1981, Rodwell 1976) and hence from any testable hypotheses.

The advent of the metal detector allied with a more complex and extensive archaeological sampling strategy has meant that in the last few decades the number of coins available for study has become increasingly substantial. For example, in the study area 81% of all coin finds, where the approximate date of discovery is known, have been made since 1960. Furthermore, 70% of the finds made since 1960 have been made since 1980.

It began to become apparent to some researchers (e.g. Nash 1978, Collis 1981) operating in the field that although there was this a large amount of data available for study, and which was being examined in increasingly greater detail, the very basic questions concerning the function and use of coins remained unanswered. These questions would need to be resolved before the coins could pay in major part in archaeological interpretation.

Collis (1981) became one of the first to challenge this approach. Terming himself a 'newmismatist' he threw down the gauntlet claiming (Collis 1981, 53) that the conclusions drawn from many studies, since they were divorced from any firm evidence and therefore cannot be tested, could only be assumptions. Collis used the interpretation of distribution maps, the use of historical interpretations for ancient coin use, and the reliance of various historical events to explain unexplained numismatic events as examples. To conclude Collis claimed 'because of its eclectic use of the data, and because

of its untestability, I can only describe the historical approach as applied to the Iron Age as a largely pointless exercise' (Collis 1981, 53).

The shift away from the passive role, the ineffectiveness of which had now been exposed by Collis, took a major leap forward with Haselgrove's (1987) study of the *Iron Age Coinage of south-east England* in which he grasped the gauntlet thrown down by Collis. This study drew upon all previous methods to attempt to fuse together Iron Age coin studies and archaeology and to position Iron Age coin studies firmly within an archaeological framework.

Haselgrove first set out to provide controls on Iron Age coin data in south-east England which is a pre-requisite in testing hypotheses on who made the coins and why. Haselgrove examined the circumstance of discovery, the context of deposition and any post-depositional transformation that the coin had been subjected to and realised that if the coin is to be related to the other components of material culture, and hence to the society in which it operated, that there must be a detailed analysis of associations, stratigraphy and site context. He allocated issues to coin producing regions, as pioneered by Evans, and provided a broad chronological phasing of series and issuers to enable the chronological comparison of finds to be made between sites and regions by the construction of phased coin loss histograms for sites or regions.

Secondly Haselgrove set out a corpus of archaeological evidence so the coins can be used to test propositions about late Iron Age societies through the archaeological record and not independent of it (Haselgrove 1987, 11-12).

Haselgrove was also responsible for updating Allen's gazetteer of find spots (Haselgrove 1978, 1984b, 1989b) which developed in parallel with the establishment of the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology at Oxford which was a project initiated by Allen and Frere.

An important series of papers reflecting current research resulted from a symposium held in Oxford in 1989, *Celtic Coinage: Britain and Beyond* (Mays (ed.) 1992). Papers were included by Fitzpatrick, on the role of coins, which suggested that not all

Gallo-Belgic coins originated on the continent, Green on the iconography of coins, May on Corielatuvian coins, Gregory and Creighton on Icenian coins, Northover and Cowell on analytical metal composition studies, and Van Arsdell on the function of coins within a monetary economy. Haselgrove reiterates his earlier comments that coins as site finds must be seen in a 'relativist' way and suggests that researchers should look at the similarities and differences between coin lists from different sites in a given circulation area, or between sites occupied at different times, i.e. they should not be viewed in isolation but against a regional picture. Furthermore, if we are to try to answer the basic, but difficult (cf. Van Arsdell 1989), questions of who made the coins, why and what for, then it is fundamental to examine the cultural context the coins come from. Emphasising that if archaeology can provide evidence of the function of coins, by examining the nature of the site and the context the coin was found in, then 'we need to put the archaeology back into coinage studies' (Haselgrove 1992, 124)

Analysing the coins from Harlow temple Fitzpatrick (1985) recognised, as Allen had previously suggested, that the coins from this particular type of site represented formally deposited votive offerings and therefore may differ, at the least quantitatively, from patterns of coin loss seen on other types of site. In identifying the coins as dateable votive objects Fitzpatrick was then able to plot them out across a plan of the site, allowing him to comment on the possibility of a continuing religious focus for the site from an earlier previously unrecognised late Iron Age shrine underlying the later temple. His association of numismatic and archaeological data also enabled him to ask questions on the use, circulation history and post-depositional factors directly effecting the coins themselves. 'It is important that the coins are regarded in the first instance as site finds of a particular class of object rather than, as they frequently are, some sort of historical document' (Fitzpatrick 1985, 58).

At Saham Toney, Brown (1986) used the carefully plotted distributions of various artefact types found in the topsoil to elucidate and understand the archaeology of a site with a methodology which fused artefactual and spatial studies together in a way which further demonstrated that coins were important archaeological and contextual objects not solely of numismatic or simple contextual dating significance. Using this technique

Brown identified the focus of an important late Iron Age settlement and the location of a previously unknown Roman fort.

Such studies have been expanded by linking the detailed study of coins with other culturally related artefact groups to add to, or fill in the gaps, produced by the numismatic data if viewed in isolation. For example Haselgrove (1989) re-examined the coins deposited at Harlow using brooches as a related votive group to provide comparable contextual association information for the coins.

Of greatest importance to the study of coins in recent years has been external developments in the field of archaeology where it is now generally recognised that a component of material culture recovered by excavation from pits and ditches, and which had previously been seen as rubbish or accidental losses, represents special structured deposition of a ritual nature (Hill 1995a). Consequently this has had considerable ramifications on how 'casual' coin losses can be interpreted. These themes are discussed in detail below (Chapter 8).

Attempts to further analyse and refine the sequential development of British Iron Age coinage have been undertaken using metallic composition (Cowell 1992, Northover 1992, Haselgrove 1993, Clogg and Haselgrove 1995). Meanwhile major regional studies have been undertaken by Van Arsdell on the coinage of the Dobunni (Van Arsdell and de Jersey 1994) and May on the Corieltauvi (May 1994).

Other major research projects currently being undertaken (e.g. Creighton's (2000) work on symbolism and political context) demonstrate that the study of Iron Age coinage, when viewed as important cultural material artefacts, is vibrant and advancing. We are now beginning to shed some light on the basic questions about the function and use of coinage that a decade ago it was not possible to answer.

4. THE STUDY AREA

The origins of the present study lie in a paper (Curteis 1996a) discussing Iron Age coin finds from Northamptonshire. During the course of the study it was realised that looking at a comparably small unit of land, as represented by a modern political county, was not sufficient to enable a larger more regional picture to be seen. Consequently the study area has now been extended to produce a distinct region in which the dynamics of regional coin distribution can be more clearly observed and interpreted.

The chosen study area, covering the modern counties of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire (fig. 1), can best be described as the south midlands. Although modern political boundaries are, in the main, unlikely to reflect late Iron Age land division the existence of county based SMR (Sites and Monuments Records) in planning departments does facilitate data collection on a county entity basis.

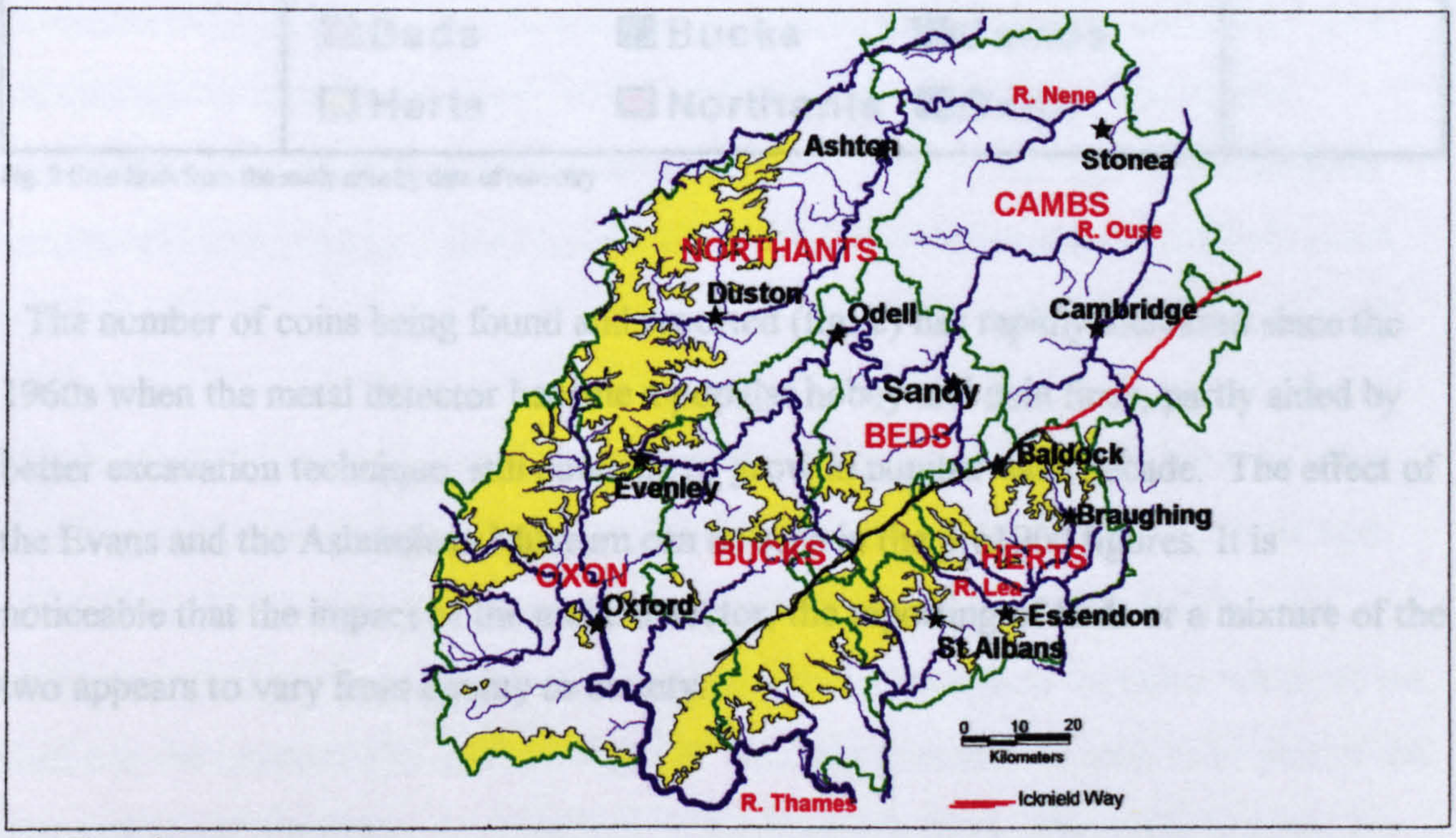

Fig.1 The study area

The area was considered a suitable region to study as it had not been examined in detail since Haselgrove's (1987) study, it covers an area which has produced a large body of information with which to work, it coincides with a major coin issuing region and overlaps the boundaries with other regions (Haselgrove 1987, Hobbs 1996), and

incorporates areas to which the author has personal access to site archives and has recorded much of the data.

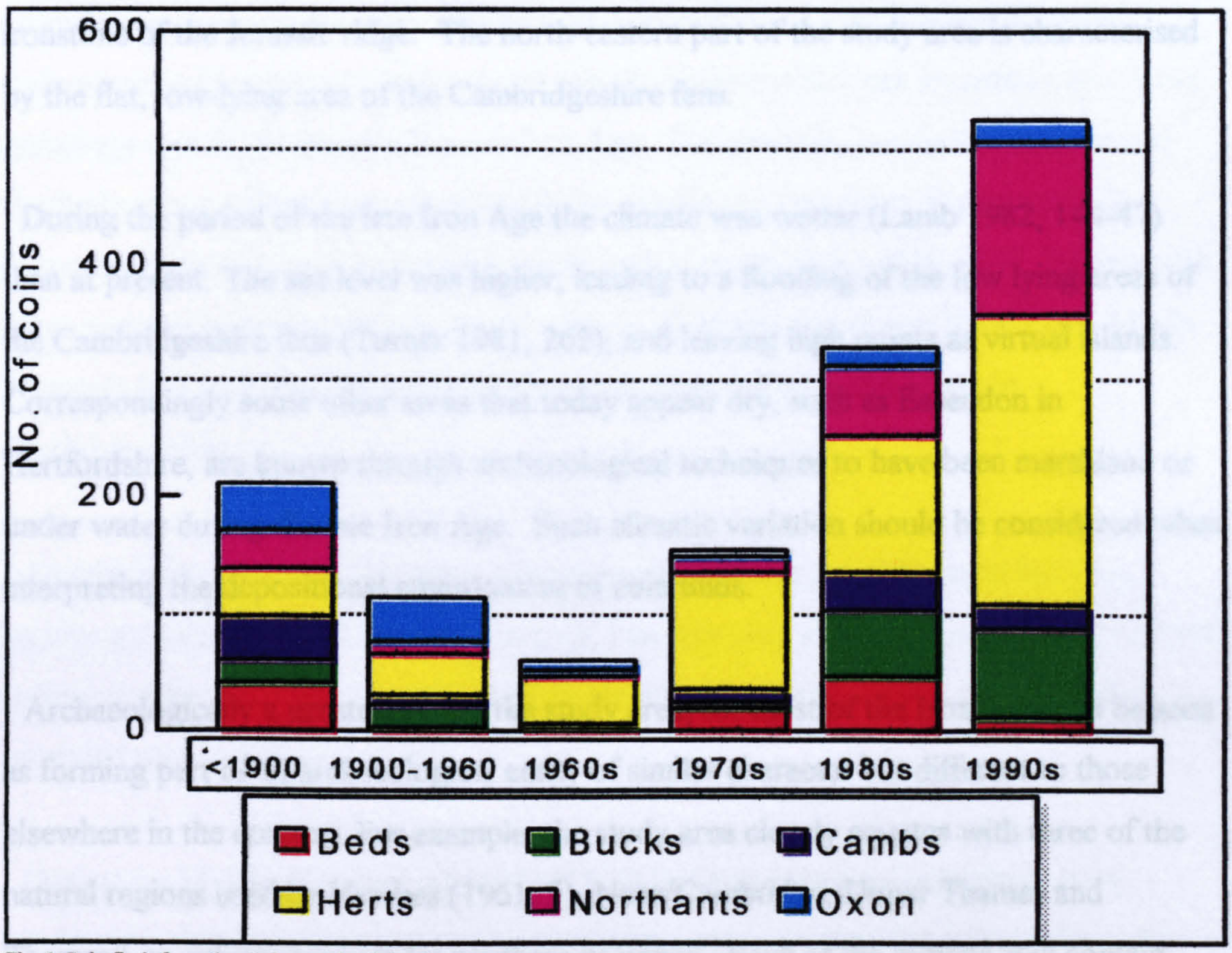

Fig. 2 Coin finds from the study area by date of recovery

The number of coins being found and reported (fig. 2) has rapidly increased since the 1960s when the metal detector became a popular hobby and coin finds, partly aided by better excavation technique, still continue to grow in number each decade. The effect of the Evans and the Ashmolean Museum can be seen in the pre1900 figures. It is noticeable that the impact of the metal detector, the reporting of finds or a mixture of the two appears to vary from county to county.

The topography of the study area (fig. 1) is varied. To the south of the study area lies the chalk scarp of the Ridgeway and the Vale of the White Horse, the gravel terraces of the middle Thames Valley and the London Basin. North of this lies the chalk of the Chiltern Hills and the eastern Cotswolds, from which a number of tributaries lead to the Thames. The scarp on the north side leads down into the valleys formed by the Great

Ouse and Nene. Both of these rivers, and their tributaries springing from the surrounding hills, flow into the Wash as does the Welland which forms the northern edge of the study. The Welland is separated from the Ouse and Nene by the limestone and ironstone of the Jurassic ridge. The north-eastern part of the study area is characterised by the flat, low-lying area of the Cambridgeshire fens.

During the period of the late Iron Age the climate was wetter (Lamb 1982, 144-47) than at present. The sea level was higher, leading to a flooding of the low lying areas of the Cambridgeshire fens (Turner 1981, 262), and leaving high points as virtual islands. Correspondingly some other areas that today appear dry, such as Essendon in Hertfordshire, are known through archaeological techniques to have been marshland or under water during the late Iron Age. Such climatic variation should be considered when interpreting the depositional environment of coin finds.

Archaeologically a greater part of the study area, for most of the Iron Age, can be seen as forming part of an archaeological entity of similar character but different to those elsewhere in the country. For example, the study area closely equates with three of the natural regions used by Hawkes (1961, 5), Nene/Cambridge, Upper Thames and Thames/Lea, which make up his southern province. Each of the regions 'will contain, consistently with physiographic boundaries, an Iron Age archaeological entity in every case'.

Towards the western and northern edges of the study area the margin between other zones is incorporated. The picture remains constant towards the end of the Iron Age when the majority of the study area falls under what has often been called the core, which shares many characteristics with contemporary continental societies, while, as we shall see, the northern and western edges of the study area may be seen to be part of the less continental appearing, or peripheral, tribes (Cunliffe 1991, 130 and in Chapter 7 below). It is an important feature of this study that the area under examination spans the possible boundaries between the tribes occupying what are today the home counties and those counties to the north and west.

During the early Iron Age (c.600-400/300 BC) fine pottery wares began to emerge from their more coarse predecessors and a number of distinctive local ceramic assemblages become apparent. The form and decoration of such fine wares enables style-zones to be mapped which occupy specific regions which can be seen to pre-figure groupings seen in the late pre-Roman Iron Age. For example, during this early period the study area confirms very closely with the distribution of a form of geometrically decorated pottery known as the Chinnor-Wandlebury group (Cunliffe 1991, 70) but with other regional groups appearing on the west of the study area (Long Wittenham-Allen's Pit group in west Oxfordshire) and on the east (Darmsden-Linton group in Cambridgeshire).

As with other characteristic areas, we can suggest that as the differences between regions are caused by differences in culture, that they may also differ in terms of material culture, a distinction which can be used to identify the precise society or regime that produces such indicator material.

During the Middle Iron Age (400/300-100 BC) the regional styles of the pottery continue to evolve reflecting the same territorial regions or divisions seen in the earlier period. The study area at this time falls within what Cunliffe (1991, 93) calls the Midland region consisting of hemispherical bowls and extending geographically from the Thames to the Welland. Throughout the area there was a basic coarse ware tradition of scored jars in evidence. At a local level two main decorated pottery styles, termed the Hunsbury-Draughton style (Northamptonshire) and the Stanton Harcourt-Cassington style (Oxfordshire), can be seen. Cunliffe states that the distinctive style zones that develop in the 6th century may reflect the early stages in the emergence of formalised tribal territories (Cunliffe 1974, 303); areas which we may prefer to call cultural entities. Furthermore, Cunliffe (1991, 530) comments that by the end of the middle Iron Age, when the distinctive decorative groups described above appear, that these were developed to distinguish the ethnicity of those communities who occupied what may be regarded as frontier positions around the fringes of the Eastern zone (the area most influenced by continental developments).

During the late Iron Age (c150 BC-AD 43) the south-east of Britain came increasingly more in direct contact with the continent and the Roman world. At the end of the 2nd century BC Rome annexed the south of Gaul and from 58 BC Caesar began his conquest of the rest of Gaul culminating in the invasions of Britain in 55 and 54 BC. The invasions brought the Roman world in direct contact with the south-east of Britain. The middle of the century BC saw the influx of a large number of Gallo-Belgic gold coins into Britain known as Gallo-Belgic E. These gold coins were thought by Allen (1960a) to represent one of his six waves of Belgic invaders and by Scheers (1972) to represent the payment of British mercenaries assisting the Gauls in their war against Rome. Both conclusions are unlikely, and it is debatable whether or not the wars in Gaul did lead to groups of immigrants to head for, and settle in Britain (e.g. Caesar DBG 2.14 and below p.26).

In his commentaries Caesar tells us a little about the socio-political situation in Britain. For instance he tells us that before his invasion a certain Cassivellaunus, while warring with local tribes, had killed the king of the Trinovantes and driven out his son who fled to Caesar in Gaul. However, when Caesar's forces appeared to reinstate the Trinovantian ruler, the tribes formed a confederacy and elected Cassivellaunus as their war leader against Caesar. Roman successes caused the break up of this alliance and a number of tribes (the Trinovantes, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Aucalites, Bibroci and the Cassi) made treaties with Rome. Apart from the Trinovantes these tribes had disappeared by the time of the Roman invasion, having presumably acquiesced into the tribal areas later ratified as *civitates*, and are otherwise unrecorded by history.

That there were a number of tribes, known only from classical sources, that were not later transformed into Roman *civitates* (administrative regions based on tribal areas in Gaul and probably loosely so-based in Britain), may prove to be of significance when nonconformities are seen in coin distribution maps when these are compared to the supposed location of the Roman *civitates*. Following the alliance of these tribes with Rome Caesar located and attacked the *oppidum* (stronghold) of Cassivellaunus which is thought to lie north of the Thames (e.g. Cunliffe 1991, 191). Caesar's picture of Britain split into many tribal groups can be seen reflected in coin distribution.

Some native elites adopted Roman luxury goods to enhance their own prestige during the period between the campaigns of Caesar and the invasion of Claudius in AD 43. Distinctive wheel-made pottery, such as pedestal urns, appears along with the rite of cremation in flat cemeteries and metal work, especially in the form of brooches (dated and often termed La Tène III after the continental type site). Burials can contain a quantity of grave goods such as pottery, associated metalwork and the remains of joints of meat.

After 15-10 BC the locally produced fine wares were supplemented by imported fine wares from Gaul. The pottery included TR and TN platters and Gallo-Belgic butt-beakers. Many of the Gallo-Belgic vessels (often termed 'Belgic') were locally copied. From the Mediterranean came wine amphoras such as Dressel 1A and, later, Dressel 1B.

Sites containing material culture of this type, often termed the Aylesford-Swarling culture (Evans 1890, 315-88; Bushe-Fox 1925; Hawkes and Dunning 1931, 150-335; Birchall 1963, 21-9 and 1965, 241-367, and above p.6) are found over much of the study area except in the northern and western areas. We have described above how this culture was once thought to have been brought to our shores by the immigrant Belgae referred to by Caesar but such a hypothesis has been replaced by one of social and economic contact with increasingly Romanized Belgic communities in Gaul. The settlements associated with the cremation cemeteries are often nucleated, e.g. St Albans (Wheeler 1936, Frere 1972 and 1983) , Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, Burleigh 1995b) and Braughing (Partridge 1981), and appear to represent a settlement shift to areas that previously may have functioned as ceremonial foci.

The traditionally accepted dates for the Aylesford-Swarling culture mentioned above have been pushed back following a study of brooch chronology by Haselgrove (1997). This has brought developments in south-east England in line with northern France. For example, the introduction of wheel turned pottery can be seen to have happened in the late 2nd century BC and the first Dressel 1B amphorae in south-east England are considered to have been imported well before the mid-first century BC (Cunliffe 1978; Haselgrove 1997, 58).

The broad area of the Aylesford-Swarling culture, with its many continental affinities, has often been termed the *core* area surrounded by *a periphery* comprising an arc of coin using tribes stretching from Dorset to Lincolnshire beyond which is the rest of Britain containing peoples who did not use coinage or have continental affinities (Haselgrove 1982; Cunliffe 1978 and 1991).

The core is best defined as an area with an elite-centred social and political structure with a highly structured prestige goods system in operation reinforcing the complex social hierarchy. Imported Roman wine amphorae, metal drinking vessels and fine pottery imports were highly valued and were distributed down the social hierarchy. Social status was marked by the appearance of grave goods, sometimes rich, in burials. The later coinage of the core is often inscribed, emphasising the social structure. The core can essentially be seen (after Haselgrove 1982, 87) as the coastal area on both sides of the Thames estuary, London and the home counties, together with parts of Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. Haselgrove (1982, 86) has shown that this area coincides almost exactly with the distribution of the coinage of Cunobelin emphasising the extent of the hierarchical system. The core area is usually attributed to the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni to the north of the Thames and the Atrebates/Cantii to the south of the Thames.

The periphery is characterised by the presence of four major coin using groups (i.e. coins attributed to the Corieltauvi, Durotriges, Dobunni and Iceni) all of which have the attributes of a decentralised society.

Previous detailed examination of coin distributions have noticed recurring patterns (e.g. Haselgrove 1987, Allen 1960a, Van Arsdell 1986, Rodwell 1976, Cunliffe 1981) that have enabled the core and periphery areas to be divided into zones of circulation and hence, it is believed, into politically distinct areas. Most authors have related these to the tribal areas later transformed into the Roman administrative *civitates* as described above. In the study area the core tribes are represented by the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes which have not been distinguished numismatically (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989) surrounded by periphery tribes of the Dobunni, Corielatuvi and Iceni. Estimates of the tribal areas of the later (e.g. Cunliffe 1981) would suggest that we may be able to discern part of their

tribal areas within the modern political boundaries of the study area. Other authors (notably Haselgrove e.g. 1987) have given the regions a geographical nomenclature in an attempt to avoid the later, but uncertain, *civitates* terminology normally used in identifying the issues.

In the years leading up to the Roman invasion, particularly 10 BC to AD 43 (termed the late pre-Roman Iron Age (or LPRIA)) imports, particularly of pottery and brooches, increased and we see the appearance first of Arretine and later of Samian wares.

The Roman invasion of Britain seems to have had little immediate direct effect on many sites in the study area. For instance at Baldock (G. Burleigh pers. comm.) there appears to have been no discernible disruption caused by the invasion and the event itself is archaeologically undetectable. During the decade following the invasion (termed Claudian) and also to some extent during the following period (termed Neronian after the emperor Nero AD 54-68) people not only lived in the same style houses as they did at the end of the LPRIA but also used the same artefacts which also straddle the invasion unchanged, for instance, Colchester brooches may have been in use either immediately before or after the conquest with a similar picture existing for many other artefact types including pottery. Samian, for example, is perhaps one of the more closely datable of pottery types, because of its rapidly changing typology with decorative styles and marks belonging to individual potters, but may be simply termed Tiberian-Claudian (e.g. Dragendorf types17 and 29). The same is true for Gallo-Belgic vessels such as some forms of TR and TN platters and cups. Consequently it is impossible to date many contexts in the decades surrounding the invasion with resulting problems in examining the effect of the invasion on the function of Iron Age coinage.

We have seen that throughout the Iron Age and into the Roman period the study area includes a number of marginal boundaries between style zones, reflecting different cultural tastes, that later may have been endorsed as Roman *civitates*. There is also some correspondence between these areas and the mapped areas of the principal regional coinage series (see Chapter 7). A number of studies (e.g. Rodwell 1976, Haselgrove 1987, Sellwood 1984) have recognised a close relationship between the boundaries mapped using coin distributions and major rivers. The latter appearing to form potential

boundaries between discrete spheres of coin circulation. Rivers are known in other Celtic speaking groups to form important boundaries and to have a role in between-group relations (Nash 1978). The study area contains a number of major rivers (e.g. Nene, Welland, Cherwell, Ver, Lea, Thames, Ouse and Cam) and the possibility some of them may have functioned as boundaries will be discussed in detail (Chapters 7 and 8).

5. IRON AGE COINAGES IN THE SOUTH MIDLANDS

On the continent the first Iron Age coins were produced as early as the late 4th century BC (Haselgrove 1999, 121), based on, often posthumous issues of, the gold stater of Philip II of Macedon (359-336 BC). Others were copied from the issues of Greek colonies in Tarentum (southern Italy) and Syracuse (Sicily). Very few of these early imitations, or other contemporary Greek or Carthaginian coins, reached Britain. From the early imports a wide variety of insular coinages developed forming distinctive regional groupings which are often attributed to the predecessors of the tribally based Roman civitates. We have noted that some authors (e.g. Haselgrove 1987, 53-4; Hobbs 1996) have preferred to use geographical terminology to describe these tribal regions. Only the coinages that appear to have been issued in, or to have been in general usage within, parts of the study area are included. Coins that represent occasional strays from their usual areas of distribution are excluded from the discussion except where they are relevant to the study.

The precise chronological dating employed most notably by Van Arsdell (1989) is not used here as such categorical assumptions are at best uncertain (Burnett 1989, Kent 1990) and the dating of the coins is in a state of continuous flux (e.g. Burnett 1995, Williams 1998).

The earliest coins found in Britain in any quantity were Gallo-Belgic A staters. These stylised copies of the Philip stater have been traditionally considered to have been produced in the Belgic area of Gaul (northern France). For instance, we have noted above (p.7) that for many years it was believed that the coins were brought by invaders. Mack (1975,1) for instance notes 'the first wave of invaders from Belgic Gaul, Gallo-Belgic A (Ambiani) came from the Somme valley and find spots of single coins in England suggest they landed in Kent and proceeded along the banks of the Thames, beyond London, turning north-westward into Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. Some may have landed on the Essex coast'. Although this view is not now accepted, the circulation area, which the hypothesis was put forward to explain, still holds true.

Other possible explanations for the presence of imported coins in Britain have been put forward. Some imports may have been brought to the south-east by the Belgic raiders recorded by Caesar (DBG V, 12) who later settled in Britain. Some may represent exchanges between the elite of each society to cement social or political alliances or perhaps as gifts in a system of exchange bringing benefits to both sides (Collis 1971, Haselgrove 1993, 36, de Jersey 1996, 16). Caesar (DBG II, 4) comments that Diviaciacus, king of the Suessiones in Belgic Gaul at one time had control over a large area of Britain suggesting close tribal links between Britain and Gaul prior to the Gallic war. Van Arsdell (1989) assumes that coins came to Britain through trade.

The date of the Gallo-Belgic A staters is not certain. Van Arsdell (1989, 64; VA10-1), for instance, dates the issues to the late second century BC and Haselgrove broadly agreed with this (Haselgrove 1993, 35); while Kent argued a date closer to the period of the Gallic War (Kent 1978, 313-24). The date of the initiate prototype is in the late 3rd to early 4th century BC while the Gaulish coinage from which they derive dates to the 3rd century BC. Most of the issues that reach Britain are late in the series and many of them show a degree of wear. A date near the start of the 2nd century BC for the start of the series would be more acceptable and such a date has now been suggested by Haselgrove (1999, 125). Such a chronology would allow the Gallo-Belgic A staters to be separated, in time, from the Gallic War by the Gallo-Belgic C staters which themselves seem to be composed of melted down Gallo-Belgic A staters (Haselgrove 1993, 36).

It is now apparent that Gallo-Belgic A staters are more common in Britain than on the continent (Haselgrove 1987, 89; Fitzpatrick 1992a, 9) suggesting that some examples of the type are insular in origin and not an import (Haselgrove 1999, 128). Such a hypothesis is may be substantiated by the discovery of a die found near Basingstoke albeit possibly hubbed from a coin (J. Williams pers. comm.)

Possibly contemporary with Gallo-Belgic A coins are the defaced-die type staters or Gallo-Belgic B. The coins have long been thought to have been made from a defaced obverse die, perhaps originally that for a Gallo-Belgic A stater. It has been suggested that this was done to show that the issuing authority had become independent of that producing the Gallo-Belgic A staters (Van Arsdell 1989, 5). However, like Gallo-Belgic

A, there is a very strong possibility that Gallo-Belgic B staters originate in Britain as only quarter staters of the type are generally found on the continent (Haselgrove 1987, 79-80 and 1999, 128; Fitzpatrick 1992, 9; Burnett 1995, 9; de Jersey 1996, 17) although Kent (1981, 41) has suggested they were produced in Gaul for export only. The distribution of the coins is similar to Gallo-Belgic A staters; Kent, Surrey, Essex, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and south Hertfordshire (Van Arsdell 1989, 462 Map 3). A discussion of the distributions of various Gallo-Belgic types is developed below (p.55ff).

Gallo-Belgic C staters, which still echo the Philip II staters, are concentrated mainly in Kent (Allen 1960a, 104) but have a distribution stretching from the Sussex Coast to the Wash giving them a wider distribution to the preceding types (de Jersey 1996, 17). The dating of the middle types of Gallo-Belgic C staters is given as the early 1st century BC (Van Arsdell 1989, 67, VA42-1; de Jersey 1996, 17) but it is more likely to belong to the later 2nd century BC (Haselgrove 1999, 135). The series is important as it appears to have been the prototype for a number of significant British coinages.

Gallo-Belgic D, struck only as a quarter stater, has a predominantly coastal distribution. Often dated to around the middle of the 1st century BC (Van Arsdell 1989, 71 VA65-1; Delestrée 1996b, 41), it should now be seen as perhaps half a century earlier (Haselgrove 1999, 141). This issue also influenced several later British issues and it has been suggested (de Jersey 1996, 18) that some pieces may be of British manufacture. Some authors (e.g. Allen 1971, 140-1) have suggested that the coins were the quarter staters for Gallo-Belgic E staters but such a hypothesis is unlikely (Haselgrove 1993, 38). Very few Gallo-Belgic D coins have been found within the study area.

Some of the sub-classes of Gallo-Belgic C and all Gallo-Belgic D types are more common on the continent than in Britain (Haselgrove 1987, 89) suggesting that, unlike some Gallo-Belgic A and B, they are of continental origin. Haselgrove (1987, 87) considers that some sub-classes of Gallo-Belgic C are British products.

The successor to, and die-linked with, the Gallo-Belgic C staters were the Gallo-Belgic E or uniface staters long believed to have been issued c.60-50 BC. These staters were issued in very large numbers. It has been suggested that between 1,450 and 1,500

obverse dies (Haselgrove 1984a, 88) were used to produce over 1,500,000 (de Jersey 1996, 18) Gallo-Belgic E staters compared with only 65-75 obverse dies for Gallo-Belgic C. It has often been suggested (e.g. Scheers 1977) that the massive output of the Gallo-Belgic E stater, the issue period of which coincides with Caesar's campaigns in Gaul, was in some way connected to the finance of the war. However, Haselgrove (1984a, 84) and Nash (1987) have both argued for a longer development with an origin one or more decades, at least, before the Caesarean campaigns and Haselgrove (1999, 141) would now suggest a date early in the 1st century BC.

Several authors have suggested (e.g. Kent 1978, Haselgrove 1984a, 93, de Jersey 1996, 18) that a number of the coins were struck to pay mercenaries and it has been suggested that the payment of British mercenaries, as indicated by Caesar (DBG 4, 20), may account for the bulk of this and other Gallo-Belgic issues found in Britain (Kent 1978). The effect of refugees should not ruled out (Haselgrove 1984a, 93) and Caesar does record that a faction of the Bellovaci fled to Britain following their defeat in 57 BC (DBG 2, 4).

Haselgrove (1984a, 93) notes the coastal and riverine distribution of many hoards in support of the refugee hypothesis but a number of other factors could also explain the distribution of hoard find spots such as the deposition of hoards for ritual purposes or a concentration of settlement in the area (see below p.102ff, 207-8).

Scheers (1986, 348-9) has suggested that at least one sub-class of the Gallo-Belgic E issue may originate in Britain and indeed more finds are known from Britain than on the continent (Fitzpatrick 1992a, 9)

Gallo-Belgic F can be demonstrated to be broadly contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E (Haselgrove 1999, 138). Appearing in Britain only in small quantities (de Jersey 1996, 18) the issue is of importance to us here because of the triple tailed horse on the reverse of the coin which had a significant influence on the coinage of central southern England by way of the British Q series. Only a single coin of the Gallo-Belgic F series is known from the study area.

Perhaps apart from some Gallo-Belgic A and B staters (Haselgrove 1993, 36) the earliest coinage produced in Britain in any quantity was a series of close potin (cast bronze) imitations of the bronze coinage of the Greek colony of Marseilles. These were certainly in circulation in France from the early 2nd century BC (Delestrée 1999, 23) and have a similar distribution to Gallo-Belgic A and B staters (Haselgrove 1988, 119). The earlier chronology proposed for Gallo-Belgic A and B (Haselgrove 1999) may support a production date from the early second century which would bring the introduction of potins more in line with the continental developments.

It is not known who issued these coins or for how long. Van Arsdell (1989, 322, VA1402) misleadingly calls these potins the Thurrock Type after a hoard found in Essex and attributes them to the Trinovantes.

At some point perhaps in the late 2nd century or the early years of the 1st century BC (de Jersey 1996, 20-21) the early potins appear to have been replaced by a new style of flatter and lighter potin coins. Although the first issues resembled the earlier type they were rapidly stylised. These later potins (e.g. VA133) are conventionally divided into two main classes (after Allen 1971) based on size and degree of stylisation. It is generally assumed the smaller, class II, is later. Evidence is increasing that the smaller potins were produced north of the Thames in the region of east Hertfordshire and Essex (see distribution maps in Haselgrove 1988, 115) and the larger pieces in Kent and East Sussex although it has been suggested that the north Thames smaller, class II, potins were wholly imported from Kent (Haselgrove 1988, 117). For a discussion of the distribution of potin coins see below (p.59ff).

The potins overlap chronologically with the first British gold coins yet the two are not normally found together suggesting they served different functions within society (de Jersey 1996, 21). Haselgrove (1988, 119) suggested the original function of the potin coinage was as an alternative to gold perhaps due to a drop off in gold imports from the late 2nd century BC. It would appear that whatever the function of the early potins, the later pieces are far too common as site finds to have been a high value coinage (Haselgrove 1988, 119). Such a change in function may be reflected in the change of style and module.

The smaller, Class II, potins are frequently found in pre Flavian deposits (Haselgrove 1988, 100) suggesting a long period of circulation, but the production of the coinage seems to have ended soon after the mid 1st century BC (de Jersey 1996, 21).

The first British coins distinctively derived from Gallo-Belgic staters are the type known as British A, or Westerham and Ingoldisthorpe, staters derived from Gallo-Belgic C coins. Made from melted down Gallo-Belgic C staters (Haselgrove 1993, 41) the coins are conventionally dated to the early 1st century BC and predate Gallo-Belgic E and F (Burnett and Cowell 1988; Hobbs 1996, 14). It is important to note that a number of the conventional dates for British types could now be seen as earlier in line with work (Haselgrove 1999) that has pushed back the dates of the Gallo-Belgic series to which they are related.

Although often attributed to the Atrebates (e.g. Van Ardsell 1989, 112) it is probable that the Ingoldisthorpe type and perhaps some of the Westerham varieties of the British A series were produced north of the Thames reflected by the find of fourteen pieces within the study area (see discussion below p.64ff and Sills 1998).

British B, or the Chute type, is similarly modelled on Gallo-Belgic C and is predominantly found in Dorset, Wiltshire and Somerset. The south-westerly distribution is demonstrated by the recovery of only two pieces within the study area.

British F (VA1458) and G (VA1455, VA1460), the Clacton type staters, were probably struck at the same time as the other early British issues, i.e. early 1st century BC (Haselgrove 1993, 35; 1999, 138) although some authors put the date of the issue towards the later end of this range (de Jersey 1996, 22). Distributions indicate a source somewhere north of the Thames. Three pieces are known from the study area all from Hertfordshire (St Albans, Much Hadham and Bishops Stortford).

British H (VA800) and I (e.g. VA804), the north-east coast staters, conventionally attributed to the Corielatuvi (Mack 1975, 155; Van Arsdell 1989, 215) or termed the North-Eastern series (after Haselgrove 1987, 54), dated by Van Arsdell to between the early and mid 1st century BC (Van Arsdell 1989, 216), are derived from Gallo-Belgic C

staters. The staters of this series and also of the similarly Corieltauvian attributed British K (e.g. VA811), or South Ferriby type which is dated to the later half of the 1st century BC by Van Arsdell (1989, 226) have a patchy distribution throughout the study area but are obviously concentrated to the north of the area (see discussion below p.83ff and fig. 13).

In East Anglia development took a slightly different turn with the replacement of the horse on the Gallo-Belgic E (Haselgrove 1993, 41) issues with a particularly fearsome boar on a type known as British J (e.g. VA610), attributed to the Iceni (Mack 1975, 141, Van Arsdell 1989, 185) or termed the East Anglian series (Haselgrove 1987, 54) dated by Van Arsdell (1989, 185) to the mid 1st century BC.

The most significant British derivative was the British L (LA and LB) or Whaddon Chase stater (e.g. VA1470). The coins dispensed with the head seen on the Gallo-Belgic issues and replaced it with a very stylised representation of a laurel wreath and the horse on the obverse became much more realistic. *Contra* to Allen (1960a, 109; see also Mack 1975, 72 where the issues are dated c.40-20 BC) the series was probably first struck towards the end of the Gallic War (Haselgrove 1993, 42; de Jersey 1996, 24) or perhaps even earlier following Haselgrove's (1999) earlier dating of the Gallo-Belgic series. These coins are found widely in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Essex. It has been suggested (e.g. Allen 1944, 11-12; de Jersey 1996, 33) that Whaddon Chase staters were issued by Cassivellaunus, the adversary of Caesar who ruled a tribal territory to the north of the Thames (DBG V, 11) possibly the one later known as the Catuvellauni. If so it is possible that these were the gold coins (*nummo aureo*) referred to by Caesar (DBG V, 12). In the same statement Caesar also appears to mention currency bars (*taleis ferreis ad certum pondus examinatus*) and bronze (*aere*) coinage which may refer to the potin series (Allen 1944, 12; Haselgrove 1988).

South of the Thames and outside the study area the British Q, or triple tailed horse stater was the most influential. Based on the Gallo-Belgic F series (de Jersey 1996, 26; Bean 2000, 104) it would appear to have a similar chronology and metrology to the Whaddon Chase staters. The issue is significant as it provided the inspiration (via British R) for gold staters attributed to the Dobunni which corresponds to Haselgrove's (1987,

53) Western Series. It is probable that some British QA staters are imported from continental Europe (Fitzpatrick 1992a, 10; *contra* Bean 2000, 112-14).

Around the middle of the 1st century BC a series of uninscribed struck silver and bronze coins appear to the north of the area of the L series. Allen (1960a, 109) considered such issues to belong to a distinct coin using area and termed these issues Lx or the 'north Thames group'. They form part of Haselgrove's (1987, 53) South-Eastern Series and are possibly attributed to the Trinovantes. The coins, large numbers of which have been found at Braughing and Sandy, will be discussed in detail below (p.70ff).

A number of pieces in the Lx series have in recent years (Van Arsdell 1989) been attributed, with some uncertainty, to Addedomaros, an issuer known only from his inscribed gold and silver coins. These were the first inscribed coins to be issued in area of the present study. The distribution of the inscribed coins of Addedomaros suggests that he may have been a ruler of the Trinovantes (de Jersey 1996, 34 and below p.75ff) since the find spots of his coins are particularly concentrated in Hertfordshire and Essex (Hobbs 1996, 20). Consensus on the date of his reign has not been reached. Haselgrove, probably correctly, suggests within the period of c.30 BC to AD 10 (Haselgrove 1993, 35) while Van Arsdell (1989, 349) suggests the earlier date of 40-30 BC.

Some of the other Lx issues are attributed to Dubnovellaunus the coinage of whom, on stylistic grounds, must be broadly contemporary with that of Addedomaros. The distribution of the issues of Dubnovellaunus is quite different to Addedomaros. Allen (1944, 23 and 30) distinguished two distinct areas of circulation for different issues, namely Essex and Kent and it still appears that Dubnovellaunus issued coinages on both the north and south sides of the Thames basin (Cunliffe 1981). Although there is some debate as to whether the inscribed coins refer to the same Dubnovellaunus or two roughly contemporary ones is unresolved (de Jersey 1996, 32 *contra* Hobbs 1996, 20). The ruler may be the same as the 'Dumnobellaunos' mentioned by Augustus in the *Res Gestae* (RG cap. 32) written in AD 14.

Also broadly contemporary with Addedomaros was Tasciovanus (*contra* Van Arsdell 1989) and the early issues of the later are stylistically similar. The find spots of

Tasciovanus coins have a slightly more westerly distribution than those of Addedomaros, focusing on Verlamion (de Jersey 1996, 35 and discussion below p.87ff) which appears to have been his principle mint. Some rare early gold issues also bear the mint mark CAMVL suggesting that Tasciovanus also held some territory around Camulodunum (Colchester) at least, at some point, in the early part of his reign. The early issues of Tasciovanus were heavily influenced by the Whaddon Chase staters but with images becoming more realistic later in the 1st century BC. Haselgrove places the issues of Tasciovanus and his successors in his Eastern Series, traditionally attributed to the Catuvellauni (Haselgrove 1987, 53). There have been various attempts to subdivide the coinage of Tasciovanus (e.g. Haselgrove 1987, 258-9; Van Arsdell 1989, 362; Fitzpatrick 1985, 54-5) and this will be developed below (p.87ff).

Towards the end of Tasciovanus's reign several issues appear bearing names often associated with that of Tasciovanus himself: Andoco, Sego, Dias and Rues. It is generally considered (e.g. Haselgrove 1993, Van Arsdell 1989, de Jersey 1996, Hobbs 1996) the names, dated 10 BC to AD 10 by Van Arsdell (1989, 387-93), refer to the personal names of rulers but they could conceivably be the names of something else such as mints. Although there has been an attempt to put the names in a single chronological sequence (Van Arsdell 1989, 384-5) it is more probable that they were subordinates to Tasciovanus perhaps occupying small areas, or *pagi*, within his territory. Such a hypothesis is strengthened by the inscription RICON on the later gold coinage of Tasciovanus (VA1780) has been translated as meaning 'high king' (Nash 1987, 131). Van Arsdell (1989, 384-5) would see Andoco, Sego, Dias and Rues as rulers in a 'turbulent' interregnum prior to the establishment of Cunobelin as ruler. For further discussion see below (p.95).

Cunobelin, c. 10-42 AD, minted coins at both Camulodunum and Verlamion and produced an extensive series of types with increasingly Romanised themes. The series is conventionally divided into early (c.AD 10-20) and late (c.AD 20-42) issues. The coinage of Cunobelin, and also those of Tasciovanus, are common finds across all but the periphery of the study area (figs.15 and 19). On a number of coins Cunobelin terms himself the son of Tasciovanus but it is not certain if this is a true familial term or a political term to ratify his right to rule.

Cunobelin united the territories of the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni (Mack 1975, 70; de Jersey 1996, 36 and below p.101) to produce a very powerful kingdom extending his influence south of the Thames and westwards towards the territory of the Dobunni (Dio Cassius, Roman History LX, 20).

The issuing of coins within the Eastern Series (Haselgrove 1987, 53) finished with the invasion of AD 43.

The western side of the study area comes within the area of control attributed to the Dobunni (Mack 1975, 127) and forming Haselgrove's (1987, 53) Western Series (fig.12). The series was originally derived from British Q. It has been suggested that Bodvoc and Corio were the first rulers, on metallurgical grounds, to add their names to coins of the series (Haselgrove 1993, 45 and de Jersey 1996, 4). But it has also been suggested (Hobbs 1996, 26 and Haselgrove 1987, 235) that, on stylistic grounds, these issuers should be placed at the very end of the series.

Although a difficult problem to resolve there are a number of examples in ancient numismatics were weight and precious metal composition have been increased at specific times not decreased, for example the first coinage reform of the Roman emperor Domitian, and therefore such metallurgical suppositions may need other evidence, such as style and die links to support them.

It has been suggested that Bodvoc and Corio ruled different parts of Dobunnic territory simultaneously (Allen 1961, 101-2). Apart from Bodvoc and Corio other paired rulers appear to be Comux and Catti, and Anted and Eisu. The coinage of Catti would seem to have a more northerly distribution recalling that of Bodvoc and suggesting that Comux and Catti also ruled different parts of Dobunnic territory.

The relative and absolute dating of the Dobunnic series, aided by the metallurgical work of Haselgrove (1993), Northover (1992) and Cowell (1992) is still uncertain due to the relatively static designs on the coins. The very minimal stratigraphic evidence that exists suggests the majority of the coins were lost (probably not minted) in the post conquest period (Haselgrove 1987, 233; Hobbs 1996, 26).

The part of the study area to the north-east of the River Nene in Northamptonshire is often seen as falling within the cultural territory attributed to the Corieltauvi (Hobbs 1996, 26; Curteis 1996a; de Jersey 1996, 45; Friendship-Taylor 1999 and discussed below p.84 and 112-4). The area corresponds to Haselgrove's (1987, 54) North-Eastern series and find spots of the associated issues are mainly concentrated in Lincolnshire, Rutland, East Yorkshire and Humberside. As with the other 'peripheral' regions the coinage progressed through a number of stylistically similar broadly conservative types beginning with a set of uninscribed issues followed by inscriptions which were added to the basic designs.

The earliest issues, British H (VA800) and I (e.g. VA804) are found within the study area. They are best dated to the first half of 1st century BC (see also Van Arsdell 1989, 215; Haselgrove 1993) and the coins then become more stylised (Kite and Domino types) to become the South Ferriby types (VA811) which have been dated c.45-10 BC (Van Arsdell 1989, 226) and were minted in substantial numbers (Hobbs 1996, 27). Early in the first century AD the Corieltauvi began to add inscriptions (de Jersey 1996, 46) beginning with VEP followed by issues inscribed AVN AST or AVN COST. The order of the coins following this point is not yet definitely established and is complicated by the possibility of rulers in different areas of this large territory issuing coins at the same time (May 1994; de Jersey 1996, 46-7).

The East Anglian Series (Haselgrove 1987, 53) is traditionally associated with the Iceni. The main distribution of coins attributed to the tribe centres on Norfolk, north Suffolk and in north-east Cambridgeshire (Hobbs 1996, 28-9) where it falls within the study area. The 'Norfolk wolf' staters (British J, see above p.29) were replaced possibly around 40 BC (de Jersey 1996, 47) by a group known as the 'Freckenham' type (British N) with associated quarter staters (the 'Irstead' type). The following sequence which was established in broad terms by Allen (1970), and with some additions (e.g. Gregory 1992b), still holds true despite some attempts to the contrary (Van Arsdell 1987, 150-1).

The Freckenham type was later replaced by the 'Boar/Horse' type followed in running sequence by the 'Face/Horse' and 'Pattern/Horse' types. The next stage (Hobbs 1996, 30) was the minting of a highly conservative series of 'Pattern/Horse' types which, apart from

some early fractions, were all inscribed. The earliest name appears to be ANTED followed by ECEN then ED or EDN types through to SAENV and AESV coins. Whether minting continued into the post-conquest period is highly debatable (Hobbs 1996, 31; Creighton 1992, 1994; Chadburn 1996) although it is possible that a late issue with an inscription including the name 'ESVPRASTO' (Williams 2000) may be derived from a *denarius* of Nero (AD 54-68). Some issues have been very doubtfully (Van Arsdell 1989, 213) attributed to Boudicca. The absolute dating of the series is highly problematic, although there have been various attempts (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989). As with the coinages of the other series it is generally accepted that the inscribed issues are late in the sequence (Haselgrove 1987, 53-4).

The dating of the British Iron Age coinage has been usefully summarised and divided up into phases by Haselgrove (e.g. 1993, 35) which has proved to be invaluable in making comparisons between site collections and issues between different coin using regions. The phases are summarised below and will be referred to extensively in the following parts of this thesis.

Phasing of British Iron-Age coinage used in this study; all dates approximate to nearest 10 years (after Haselgrove 1993, 35 and 1999)

Phase	*Duration*	*Comment*
Period I	2nd century BC	
1		Earliest systematically imported gold coinages; Gallo-Belgic B and early A
2		Later Gallo-Belgic A gold; earliest British potins
3		Flat linear potin series; latest Gallo-Belgic A and earlier C gold, but little imported
Period II	Late 2nd century BC to c.30/20 BC	
4		Later Gallo-Belgic C and DC and their earliest British derivatives (British A, B, O etc.)
5		Gallo-Belgic E and F and their immediate British derivatives (British Qa, La)
6		Earliest struck bronze; silver relatively limited; latest British potins; legends very rare

Period III

7	c. 30/20 BC-AD10	Includes TASCIOVANVS legends, ADDEDOMAROS, DUBNOVELLAVNOS
8	c. AD 10-40	Includes CVNOBELINVS, subdivided into early (E) and late (L) issues
9	*c.* AD 30-45	Includes later issues of the periphery tribes: Iceni, Corieltauvi and Dobunni; some overlap with later Phase 8 issues

6. METHODOLOGY

The data forming the basis for the research, which is summarised in the appendices, was collected in a systematic and detailed way. Because of the rarity of some coin types, and the variety of recording methods practised in different parts of the study area, all possible routes of enquiry were pursued to produce the most complete coin list and associated data that was possible. It was realised at an early stage that sources of information, e.g. the Celtic Coin Index, Sites and Monuments Records and detectorists, produced a number of biases caused by differential reporting and problems of provenance. This became more obvious as different sources of information were tapped and correlated. Data used in the research was collected up to December 1999 and form Appendix A.

Before looking at the problems of modern reporting, recording and dissemination problems, reference must be made to issues regarding the post-Iron Age dispersal of coins, which can potentially disrupt coin distribution analyses, especially if low coin counts are being studied. This factor, especially dispersal by the Roman military, is discussed in detail below (p.82).

The problem of reporting, recording and disseminating information of finds has been recognised for a number of years. It became highlighted with the increasing popularity of metal detecting as a hobby which reached is zenith around 1980 with perhaps as many as 300,000 machines in use (Dobinson and Denison 1995, *x*). Archaeologists throughout the 1970s and 1980s understood that a very large number of new find spots and quantity of material was being recovered but not being reported. Unfortunately a number of museum archaeologists instead of encouraging metal detectorists to report material actively went on the offensive via Rescue's STOP campaign. The result being that rather than deterring detectorists from removing objects from sites it alienated them and bad feeling between the two camps still exists today in many parts of the study area.

To get a true picture of what was happening English Heritage commissioned the Council for British Archaeology to undertake a study of the effect and impact of metal detecting on archaeology (Dobinson and Denison 1995). The results of the study clearly showed that a great deal of material was being recovered by detectorists that was not

being reported as archaeologists had suspected but the report also pointed out that archaeologists often did little to build relationships or educate hobbyists on the importance of reporting finds. Detectorists were vindicated by the comments that where they were following archaeological advice and did report finds the material was not always adequately recorded or the information disseminated to the local Sites and Monuments Record (Dobinson and Denison 1995, 27) or used in any other way of benefit to archaeology.

The museums or field archaeology units within the study area of the thesis that did have the expertise and resources to record material varied widely in the quality of their recording. Some did not wish to liaise with metal detectorists or other members of the public, some generalised to the point of uselessness (e.g. a quantity of AE3/4 coins probably late Roman), some only made a brief record (e.g. an Iron Age coin and ten Roman coins were found) while some made very detailed catalogue records, photographed and drew selected coins and other material. North Hertfordshire is a good example of the latter. Some Sites and Monuments Records that had information transmitted to them were not able to process the information due to lack of manpower thereby building up large backlogs and making the information difficult to retrieve.

Just as professional recording of material can be unsystematic and selective the same applies to metal detectorists who may decide to show specialists only choice items or items that they believe will excite the recorder. For instance a detectorist working at Evenley in Northamptonshire reported a gold quarter stater to Northampton Museum. When asked if anything else had been found a quantity of material including nearly one hundred Iron Age coins, over 6,000 Roman coins and other artefacts were admitted to and later produced for recording although the finder was under no obligation to do so. Under the Treasure Act such artefacts and base metal coins may be seen as part of the treasure when found closely associated with something that is treasure under the Act.

Provenance of material also produces problems. Some detectorists did not wish to provide a provenance either because they have been operating illegally or because they feared the find spot would be leaked to other detectorists. If pushed, most will be able to give a six-figure grid reference and some an eight-figure grid reference. It is not

uncommon for just the parish being given but sometimes this may be the parish the finder thought the coin to come from not its real parish. Occasionally they may give a deliberately false provenance; perhaps because the coin comes from a scheduled monument or simply to trick the recorder.

Some recording authorities do not encourage detectorists to give precise provenances because they believe, wrongly, finds from the plough soil are out of context and therefore the precise location is uninformative. Others refuse to identify material (e.g. Northampton Museum) until a precise find spot is marked on a six inch map Ordnance Survey map.

Inaccuracies of find spot and lack of detail of recording can have serious ramifications in distribution studies of Iron Age coins. For example coins from Braughing are often given a Puckeridge provenance or *vice versa*; such an inaccuracy would then be compounded if the information was given an approximate four figure grid reference. For instance, the Celtic Coin Index, if uncertain of exact provenance, allocates a grid reference centred in the middle of the modern settlement named as the find spot. Such a grid reference could indicate a coin had been found near the middle of Braughing, for example, whereas the real find spot is not even in the same grid square or same parish. Another example is the large number of coins in the collection of Evans whose original tickets in the British Museum cabinet give a provenance of "in Bedfordshire". These were later published by Evans as coming from the neighbourhood of Biggleswade and given a central Biggleswade grid reference by Allen. From the lack of modern finds they are perhaps really from the nearby large LPRIA settlement at Sandy which has produced many coins in recent years.

Lack of detail in recording is a problem especially with old finds. For instance a coin recorded as a uniface (i.e. Gallo-Belgic E) stater may have been found in 1840 and later published in a historical account or gazetteer such as Evans in 1864. A resulting SMR record could list two Gallo-Belgic staters one found in 1840 and the other in 1864. In some cases it is impossible to discern if is the same coin or different coins being referred to. The problem is expanded at sites were extensive coins lists exist e.g. Verlamion and

Braughing. Furthermore, if the coin's find spot is later reinterpreted or misread then two provinces may result one of which is totally imaginary.

To help improve the problem of portable antiquity reporting and recording the Department for Culture, Media and Sport has been in the process of setting up pilot schemes in various counties, whereby finds liaison officers encourage reporting and facilitate the optimum recording of finds

The preceding paragraphs have outlined some of the inherent problems involved in collecting data on Iron Age coins. To get the most accurate and thorough data as possible to aid this research a large number of avenues have been explored. Historical records, catalogues (e.g. Hobbs 1996, various sylloges) and gazetteers (e.g. Evans 1864, Allen 1960a), published and unpublished manuscripts held by museums and record offices have been examined for references to coins. Every Sites and Monuments Record office in the study area has been visited and all relevant records and backlogs searched either for records of coins or for associated material concerning their provenance.

All archaeological bodies, both professional and amateur, operating within the study area have been contacted for information on coins and visited where coins need identifying, checking or to sift through records for contextual information; which is necessary were sites are of significance but not yet published e.g. Cow Roast (Northchurch, Hertfordshire) and Baldock. All relevant museums were contacted and visited to view records of finds they had recorded as enquiries, to look at coins in their collections, or to examine unpublished excavation archives they might hold.

Material from the Celtic Coin Index was collected on a county by county basis in the first instance with updates later being provided by the Index on a quarterly basis.

Metal detecting clubs existing within the study area where each visited on several occasions to build up contacts and gather information. Where a detectorist was known, from museum enquiry forms to have found Iron Age coinage, but could not be reached through a club, attempts were made to contact the individuals concerned. Contacts developed through clubs or direct contact with private individuals produced a quantity of

new data. All information gained in this way has been transmitted to the relevant Sites and Monuments Record offices and the Celtic Coin Index.

Data gathered by the various routes of enquiry was correlated and cross checked to remove as many inaccuracies as feasible and produce the largest, coherent, database, as possible on which to base the research. The database on which the data was entered and processed was Lotus AmiPro using a DBASE file. The maps were produced by exporting database records into a geographical information system (MAPINFO). The information held on the database was synthesised and edited down in the form of a word processing document to produce Appendix A.

The quality and quantity of data varied considerably from one county to another. It has previously been shown how the number of coins found in each county has varied through time (fig.2). Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire show gradual increases in the number of coins reported during time, particularly since 1980 while Bedfordshire shows a large drop off in the last decade. Archaeologically there seems little reason why Northamptonshire should be yielding more coins than Bedfordshire when well excavated sites in Bedfordshire such as Sandy, Biggleswade and Odell are all recorded as producing numerous coins. Oxfordshire has shown a similar drop off since the 1960s.

The most plausible reason Bedfordshire has less coin finds recorded than Hertfordshire or Northamptonshire, between which it lies geographically, is that less recording is carried out within the county. It must be significant that both North Hertfordshire Museums and Northampton Museum have worked on building close relationships with detectorists and recording reported data in detail. The recovery of fewer coins over time in Cambridgeshire could be explained by the presence of large stretches of fenland in the late Iron Age. The small number of coins reported through time in Buckinghamshire appears relatively constant and may be related to the lack of adequate archaeological resources as appears to be the case in Bedfordshire.

The various methods of recovery and the quality of the data for each county is tabulated below:

COUNTY:	Beds	Bucks	Cambs	Herts	Northants	Oxon
Provenance						
Exact	22 (76) 24%	53 (99) 34%	17 (973) 13%	88 (679) 34%	44 (181) 36%	27 (46) 15%
Approx.	22 (25) 24%	53 (153) 34%	47 (83) 38%	67 (95) 26%	32 (45) 26%	45 (72) 24%
Uncertain	47 (82) 52%	50 (72) 32%	61 (103) 49%	102 (424) 40%	46 (81) 38%	114 (182) 61%
Find method						
Excavation	8 (61) 9%	12 (21) 8%	4 (57) 3%	72 (606) 28%	18 (42) 15%	11 (15) 6%
Detected	13 (15) 14%	56 (136) 36%	29 (946) 23%	86 (301) 33%	52 (169) 43%	46 (114) 25%
Casual	62 (83) 68%	52 (121) 33%	33 (50) 26%	77 (223) 30%	45 (80) 37%	89 (116) 48%
Unknown	8 (24) 9%	36 (46) 23%	59 (106) 47%	22 (68) 9%	7 (16) 6%	40 (55) 21%
Find type						
Site find	36 (107) 39%	27 (68) 17%	11 (69) 9%	130 (603) 51%	36 (158) 30%	23 (27) 12%
Hoard	8 (10) 9%	18 (113) 12%	18 (958) 14%	5 (298) 2%	1 (2) 1%	3 (28) 2%
Stray	47 (66) 52%	111 (143)71%	96 (132) 77%	122 (297) 47%	85 (147) 70%	160 (245) 86%
Totals	91 (183)	156 (324)	125 (1159)	257 (1198)	122 (307)	186 (300)

Table 1: Data on quality and quantity of coins found in each county of the study area. Numbers refer to the number of provenances. The total number of coins are in parentheses. The term 'provenance' refers to the groupings in Appendix A which are based on date of find and grid reference.

The table shows very clearly some of the problems indicated above. The provenance of the find spots were there is some uncertainty (e.g. thought to have been found in or around a given parish or town) is high with about half of all the provenances in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire falling into this category and over half in Oxfordshire.

The county with the most accurate provenances is Northamptonshire closely followed by Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

Hertfordshire has the highest number of excavated provenances followed by Northamptonshire. The high percentage in Hertfordshire is an effect of the excavation of the high coin yielding sites at Baldock and Braughing. Very few excavations in Cambridgeshire have produced Iron Age coins and the frequency of archaeologically recovered coinage is also very low in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire.

Nearly half the provenances reported from Northamptonshire are made by metal detectorists followed by Buckinghamshire. Although Cambridgeshire exhibits the largest number of coin finds in this category the number is inflated by several large Icenian coin hoards and comes second to Bedfordshire in the least number of metal detected provenances. The large difference between the percentages for each county is very likely due to the variety of recording practices that exist between them.

The number of casually found coins also varies considerably between counties. The majority of the coins in Bedfordshire being found in this way while Cambridge has the lowest incidence of casual finds followed by Hertfordshire. It is interesting to note that the method of recovery for nearly half of the provenances in Cambridgeshire has gone unrecorded which is at odds to Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire.

Not surprisingly with its number of well known large late Iron Age settlements over half of the provenances and coins from Hertfordshire are from known sites but very few in Cambridgeshire were few large settlements are known. However, Cambridgeshire has produced the most hoards followed by Buckinghamshire with very few from the other counties of the study area. A large number of all finds are from sites of which little is known archaeologically and this is most obviously the case in Oxfordshire.

All provenances of coin finds are plotted on fig.3. A number of blank areas can be seen and recovery bias is a major factor to consider when interpreting distribution maps. Differential patterns can be produced by archaeologists and metal detectorist being more or less active in different areas. A concentration of finds in a particular area may not

indicate greater activity in the past but that the area has been more thoroughly searched. This is particularly the case in north Hertfordshire and southern Northamptonshire where the density of finds spots is likely, as noted above, to be an effect of the above average detector liaison and recording practices being in operation.

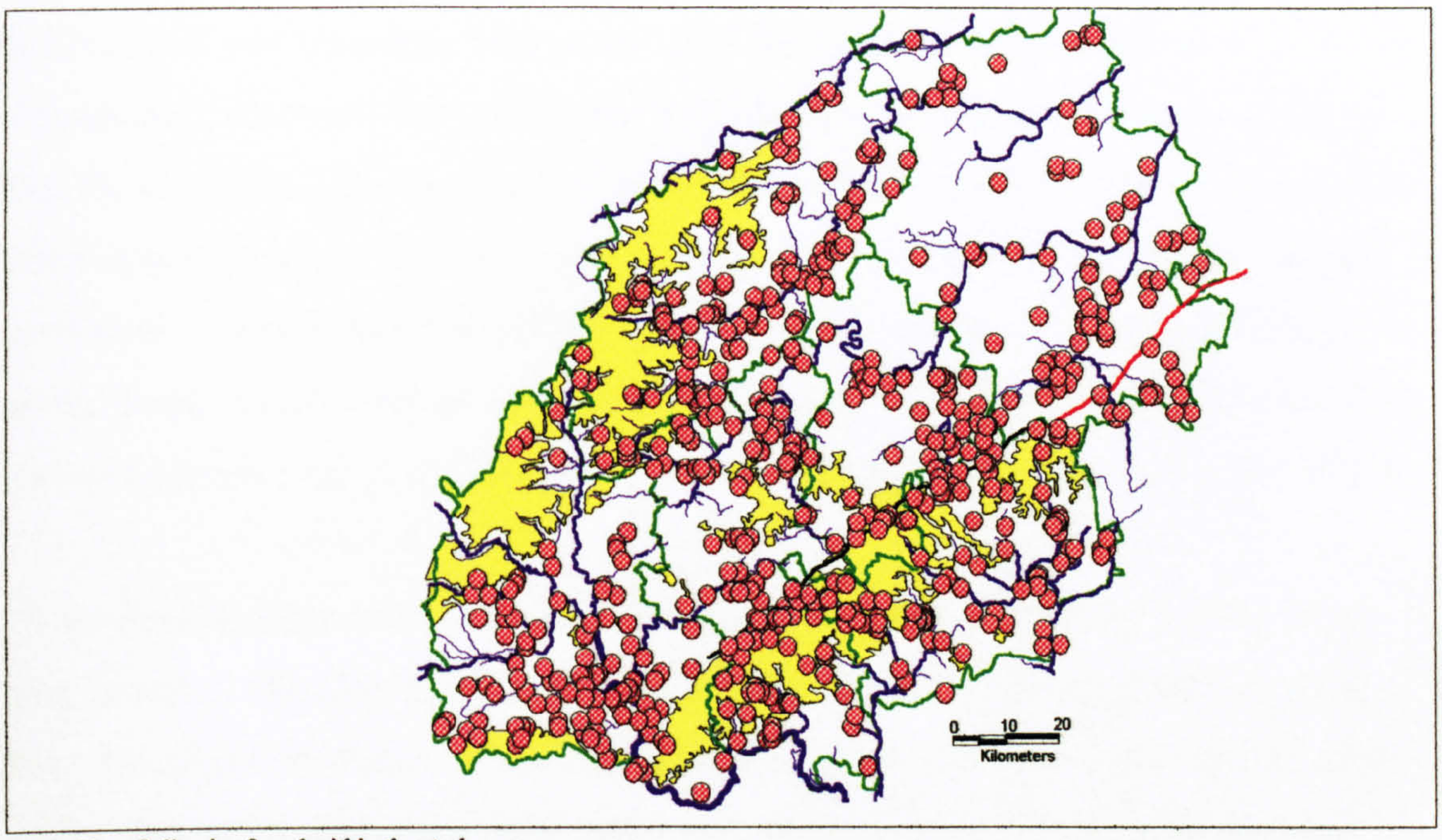

Fig.3: Plot of all coins found within the study area.

A number of explanations can be put forward to explain the voids. The coins may not have been lost in the first place either due to a sparsity of settlement in that area, such as the Cambridgeshire fenland, or because the latter falls into an area of a non coin-using culture. Alternatively the coins may exist in the ground but have not been recovered. Central to west Northamptonshire, for instance, is predominantly pasture - precluding much metal detecting and field walking. Some areas such as Rockingham Forest in north Northamptonshire are thickly wooded. In other areas the coins may have been recovered but not recorded.

The majority of the recorded coins are surface-finds with no datable context so it cannot be shown whether the coins were deposited at a post- or pre-conquest date. Several studies (e.g. Sellwood 1984, Creighton 1994) have indicated that Iron Age coins continued to be used, in some capacity, for several decades after the invasion. Thus, we

cannot be certain that any particular Iron Age coin was deposited in a late Iron Age cultural environment. This aspect will be discussed in greater detail below.

7. CIRCULATION PATTERNS

7.1 Distribution studies

The best way to study circulation patterns is through distribution maps. The purpose of the maps is to see the geographical spread of specific coin series or types. Certain coins are inscribed with the names of probable tribal leaders, such as Cunobelin or Tasciovanus, some of whom can be matched with those in classical sources. It is likely that the production of such pieces was controlled by these leaders. Others bear possible tribal emblems such as the corn ear on coins of Cunobelin, which circulated in the area attributed to the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes, or the opposed crescents on Icenian coins. Some refer to regional centres such as Camulodunum or Verlamion. It is possible that some Icenian coins bear their tribal name in the abbreviated form of ECE or ECEN.

This would suggest most of the coins, particularly the later issues, were designed, in part, to reflect tribal identities and emphasises that the coins derived specific meaning from the cultural context in which they operated (Kimes, Haselgrove and Hodder 1982, 117). They could be recognised by the identity-conscious groups who used them to indicate 'belonging' and 'togetherness' (Hodder 1977, 11) and for which they were symbols of expression of group cultural identity. This was not necessarily the case for many of the earlier issues, such as the Gallo-Belgic E, which was clearly designed to be produced and used by a wide group of people. The change through time from the latter, to coins designed to represent only small regional groups or sectional interests, reflects the growing importance of the elite controlled hierarchies developing towards the end of the Iron Age.

Coinage is a medium perhaps more likely than other types of cultural material to be sensitive to politico/economic realities and changes (Sellwood 1984, 191). The elite that produced the coins headed increasingly complex social hierarchies that may have been based on tribute networks and a prestige goods system (Millett 1990, Haselgrove 1982, 81). The coinage may have formed a major component of such a system in which leaders maintained and enhanced their power by conspicuous consumption and disposal of prestige objects.

Kimes, Haselgrove and Hodder (1982, 118) have postulated that a function of the coins may have been, along with other valuables, to discharge a variety of such social obligations which would have been part of, and supported, the overall social structure. It may be the coins, in the later stages of their development, had a economic use similar to Roman coins prior to the fully developed monetary economy of the mid-third century A.D. (Curteis 1996a, 18). In Britain coinage in the form of gold *aurei* and silver *denarii* would appear to have been paid to state employees such as civil servants and soldiers who would be unable to produce their own food or items for barter. The lower denominations acting as small change in transactions taking place between people with access to the coins. Consequently early Roman coinage is rare on low status Romano-British sites but more common in forts. It is interesting that multiple finds of early Roman coins in Britain frequently come from similar context types to those of Iron Age coins again suggesting a similar use. For example gold coins predominantly come from non-settlement contexts, whereas base metal coins come predominantly from settlement contexts and concentrations of coins around shrines and temples.

The base-metal Iron Age coins could have been used to a limited extent in actions of commodity exchange (see below pp.50, 63 and Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion) but they would only have a value in the area over which its issuer had the influence to enforce it, whereas precious metal coins would carry their own intrinsic value. It is interesting that the Catuvellaunian base metal coinage, at times, appears to have had at least two denominations (Clogg and Haselgrove 1995) which could facilitate exchange in the same way as the *as* and *dupondius* in early Roman transactions.

The distributions of coins bearing specific tribal emblems, leader's names, or names of centres, tend to regionalise (e.g. Allen 1944, 1960a; Mack 1975, Rodwell 1981a, Sellwood 1984, Van Arsdell 1994). The patterns formed may be seen to reflect the areal extent of the cultural system from which they originated, rather than a simple economic distance decay pattern away from a production centre seen in the distributions of many marketed commodities particularly pottery (Hodder 1977, 8). If this is true the distribution would be indicated by a plateau-like pattern (Soja 1971) with a rapid fall off in artefact find location density across a boundary.

Where transect analyses have been performed across various putative tribal boundaries, using relative frequency counts based on the number of coins in the transect as a whole (Hodder 1977), a number of sudden fall-offs have been noted (Kimes, Haselgrove and Hodder 1982, 119). However, examples that may demonstrate the gradual fall-off hypothesis do occur. For example, a transect drawn between the Dobunnic centre and putative mint site of Bagendon and the Catuvellaunian mint site at Verlamion, resulted in a pattern showing a gradual fall off in density with distance from each centre, giving no suggestion of territoriality or boundary (Hodder and Orton 1976, 197-97). Hodder (1977, 15) later gave several reasons why his data did not show the boundary as he had expected. These reasons were a possible contraction and expansion during Cunobelin's reign, that some peripheral areas incorporated during Catuvellaunian expansion may have had a degree of independence or did not feel culturally tied to their new political area, or that the apparent ease of movement of Cunobelin's coinage reflected a high prestige value attached to them.

The manner in which possible boundaries are recognised may not be the same between all groups. There could be little interaction across boundaries (Dole 1968, 88). Cunliffe (1991), for instance, comments that the Durotrigan coin area has distinctive boundaries which are also defined by other examples of material culture and that "the territory thus defined exhibits a considerable degree of cultural unity with marked dissimilarities to the neighbouring Atrebatic culture". Otherwise the interaction could continue uninterrupted across the boundary (Hodder 1977, 11) which could perhaps be the case in Bagendon-Verlamion example given above.

The boundary may appear to be unmarked, or perhaps marked by a natural (e.g. a river) or a man-made marker (e.g. bank and ditch). It is even possible, as discussed below, that coins may be seen to concentrate on boundaries in order to emphasise the cultural change rather than decrease as the boundary is reached. As tribal areas expanded, contracted, or even disappeared altogether, through time, the material culture may appear to us to be further blurred on or near boundaries since what we observe is a palimpsest of activity.

Therefore, contrary to the views expressed by Sellwood (1984, 193), we may not always expect, at a given time, to see an absolute boundary between two cultural groups. Even if a formal boundary did exist there is no evidence that it would have functioned as a boundary in the modern sense. Around the boundary line a mixing of cultural material rather than a sudden and distinct change might be expected and on a distribution map we could see some mixing of coin types either side of a possible boundary.

Distinctive boundary areas with their own distinctive attributes occurred in Ireland, and these areas had an important role in the integration of between group relations (O'Corrain 1974).

Although the circulation of the coins appears to have been generally delimited by tribal boundaries, coins did on occasion cross them. Gaulish bronze coins issued by the Aedui, and Carnutes have been found in the study area (see Appendix A, de Jersey 1999), yet we would not suggest the find spots were in the territories of these two tribes. Gold issues, such as some attributed to the Corieltauvi and some Gallo-Belgic C issues and Gallo-Belgic D issues (see Burnett 1996 and above p.25), are also widely dispersed from their place of origin.

There is nothing new in using coin distributions to indicate cultural or tribal areas. Precious metal coins in particular have been utilised in this way often because it was believed that the circulation of bronze issues was too localized to make such a study of benefit. We have noted above, that early attempts to link coin distributions (e.g. Evans 1890, Allen 1944) with the various Roman administrative *civitates* assumes that the Romans took over the entities of a tribal society, which is quite inappropriate. Neither can we assume that such a tribal society was homogeneous nor that tribal areas were continuous. It is possible that each or some of the coin using regions was an aggregate of a number of competing units, which could explain the localised distribution of some bronze issues. Alternatively, the society may have been ruled by one leader and the territory further subdivided amongst subordinates or, as suggested by Allen (1963), the territory may have been ruled by two or more leaders as a sort of dual magistracy, as observed by Caesar in Gaul, with each having its own localised coin distribution.

Many previous distribution studies were unable to observe definable boundaries having to work from a smaller database than that assembled for this study. The limited data that did exist often had imprecise provenance information. Resulting distribution patterns were distorted by this paucity of material and also by differential recovery and topographic factors which were not taken into account when interpreting the patterns.

We must note the inherent problems involved in using distribution maps. Some authors (especially Rodwell 1981a, 43) have even ventured so far as to suggest that distribution patterns may reflect little more than patterns of modern collection and identification and there is a potential problem of clusters and voids being artificially produced. For example areas where there is a high level of metal detector activity or areas of high excavation and fieldwork activity may produce a positive bias, while areas of forest, pasture or urban development, which impede coin recovery may produce a negative bias. It is recognised that there are areas in the study, such as north Hertfordshire, which is positively biased because of the degree of archaeological activity, of metal detecting and the recording of the metal detecting finds. The present study has attempted to minimise such biases by maximising the recorded data, enabling the clearest picture to be discerned, and by removing as many biases, caused by differential recovery and recording, as possible (Chapter 6). The large scale of the study area should further diminish the effect of any localised bias.

It is perhaps reassuring to note that, in many cases, recent distribution studies using the vast increase in data resulting from metal detecting finds have confirmed the older chance find distributions. For example, the area in which Evans (1864, 1890) places the distributions of the issues of Andoco and Rues is borne out in the plots of Van Arsdell (1989).

A conscious attempt has been made to try to avoid making the observed distribution patterns fit any preconceived models. Many previous authors (e.g. Hodder 1977, Sellwood 1984) have taken the later course with much of the resulting discussion trying to explain the mismatch of the data and the model. In this study the distribution patterns will be interpreted to produce the model.

The various hypotheses raised above will be tested as part of the following distribution analyses.

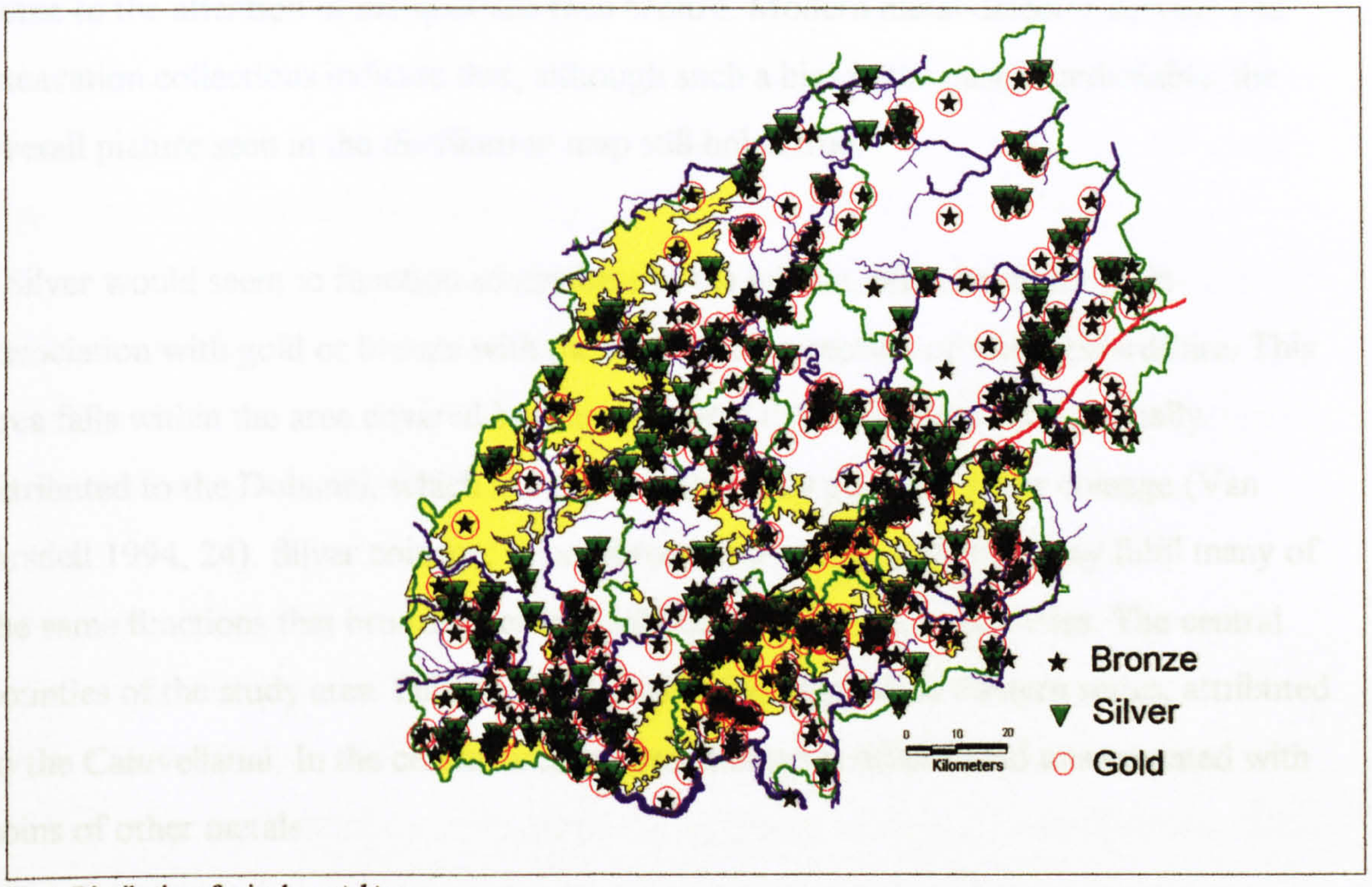

Fig.4: Distribution of coins by metal type.

7.1.1 Distribution of coins of different metals.

A plot of the distribution of all coin finds by metal type across the study area is mapped in fig.4. There is clearly a major mismatch between bronze and gold across the whole of the area. The variation between the distributions of the two metal types has been noticed by a number of previous studies (e.g. Collis 1974, Rodwell 1981a, Haselgrove 1987). Collis (1974, 5-7) has commented that, for the coinage of Cunobelin, bronze is found predominantly at what he terms 'market' sites, perhaps better termed 'major settlement' sites, whereas gold tends to come from other types of site. He expands this (Collis 1984, 159) to suggest that there was an inner core immediately surrounding a market centre where bronze was circulating, and an outer core at a distance from the market, which it supplied with raw materials in return for gold. Although this hypothesis would appear to fit the distribution pattern, we have seen that it is no longer tenable to view Iron Age coins in simple functionalist economic and monetary terms (see above p.46 and below p.52). However, the point is implicitly made that gold deposition is more plentiful in the countryside and bronze in major settlements suggesting the two coin

types had different functions or at least different deposition patterns. We should note Rodwell's (1981, 43 and 52) warning that gold could appear to be more plentiful in the countryside than bronze because it stands out in the plough soil and is more likely to come to the attention of antiquarians than bronze. Modern metal detector surveys and excavation collections indicate that, although such a bias in the past is undeniable, the overall picture seen in the distribution map still holds true.

Silver would seem to function somewhere in the middle, often being found in association with gold or bronze with the noticeable exception of west Oxfordshire. This area falls within the area covered by Haselgrove's (1982) Western series, usually attributed to the Dobunni, which is a region using only gold and silver coinage (Van Arsdell 1994, 24). Silver coinage, in non-bronze coin using societies, may fulfil many of the same functions that bronze does in neighbouring tri-metallic societies. The central counties of the study area fall into the bronze using area of the Eastern series, attributed to the Catuvellauni. In the central area bronze coinage is often found unassociated with coins of other metals.

East Cambridgeshire, falls predominantly within the region of the East Anglian series (Haselgrove 1982), attributed to the Iceni. Like the Dobunni, they only produced precious metal coinages. In Cambridgeshire, unlike 'Dobunnic' west Oxfordshire, silver is most frequently associated with gold suggesting either the coins were being used in a divergent way in this area, or that the type of site the coins are coming from are generally of a different character to those in west Oxfordshire (see below p.54).

North Northamptonshire and north-west Cambridgeshire are also notable for the paucity of bronze coinage. This area may be seen to form the south-eastern edge of what may be termed Corieltauvian territory (see below p.86).

The map shows that bronze coinage is concentrated on stretches of major rivers (the Nene, Ver, Thames, Cam, Great Ouse, Rib and Ouzel, and also on the Icknield Way), which may suggest communication and transport were important for site location.

The distribution of gold coins, although sometimes associated with major rivers, also continues up streams and there is a notable concentration at the head of valleys, i.e. at the sources of rivers, along spring lines and in prominent locations overlooking rivers. This would strongly suggest the association of gold with wet places rather than with navigable rivers and a correlation with higher ground. Haselgrove (1992, 128) suggests many single gold coins were not accidental losses, inferring they were often deliberately deposited. This is substantiated by Appendix A which records that gold coins are frequently found in twos or threes suggesting many finds are small hoards in their own right (see also fig.6:7 in Haselgrove 1987, 123). As gold coinage must have had considerable value, potentially at least, the same principle is likely to extend to solitary finds too (Haselgrove 1992, 128).

It is well documented from other archaeological finds that the Iron Age peoples of Britain venerated watery places and often placed votive deposits in them (Fitzpatrick 1984, 178-90; Woodward 1992, 53), perhaps regarding them as liminal locations, situated at the boundaries to the Otherworld. In Gaul it has been shown (Brunaux 1988, 3) that there is a strong correlation between tribal boundaries and sanctuaries. It is possible that the tribal boundary was symbolically marked and venerated in a comparable, but greater, way to which settlement boundaries have been shown to have been similarly marked in England (Hill 1995a; Chapter 8 below).

We know, in certain circumstances, gold coinage could be used in a votive way, for example the gold staters from Romano-British temples at Evenley, Brigstock and Old Stratford, Northamptonshire (see Appendix A), at Harlow, Essex (France and Gobel 1985), and at Bois-L'Abbe, Vendeuil-Caply, Estrees-Saint-Denis and Saint Maur in Belgium (Delestrée 1996a), all of which have demonstrably Iron Age precursors. Therefore, we may be able to infer that a significant proportion of all gold coins were deliberately deposited in a votive way and that the sanctuary being venerated could lie along a tribal boundary.

In the light of this hypothesis, it may be interesting to consider the significance of the serpentine meanderings formed by the majority of the gold coins plotted on the distribution map. The lines may indicate divisions between tribes at certain times, or even

subdivisions within tribes. We have noted the pattern of gold find spots closely follows water courses and it has been recognised that there is a frequent correlation between rivers and boundaries (Kimes, Haselgrove and Hodder 1982, 127). This hypothesis would have ramifications for the status of other settlements situated along rivers. These themes are developed in Chapter 8.

As such along boundaries we should expect to see concentrations of coins and other items of material culture focusing on shrines, temples and other areas of ritual activity. This is contrary to Van Arsdell (Van Arsdell and de Jersey 1994, 25) who suggests that tribes were separated by areas of 'no man's land' in which material finds are rare.

County:	Beds.	Bucks.	Cambs.	Herts.	Northants	Oxon.	Mean tot.
Site finds							
AV	30%	11%	17%	10%	21%	30%	20%
AR	21%	23%	57%	17%	17%	26%	27%
AE	40%	59%	26%	63%	57%	35%	47%
Potin	9%	7%	0%	10%	5%	9%	7%
'Non Site' Finds							
AV	56%	55%	46%	49%	51%	42%	50%
AR	15%	18%	29%	23%	21%	32%	23%
AE	28%	22%	22%	28%	26%	25%	25%
Potin	0%	4%	3%	3%	1%	1%	2%

Table 2: Percentages of provenance by metal for coins either from known or unrecorded sites.

The table above shows the percentages of the total assemblage of coins from each county by metal from both settlement and 'non' settlement sites. The 'non' settlement sites also include coins from provenances about which little is known and therefore the status of such sites is unknown. It is assumed that known sites tend to be the larger agglomerations, which having produced a quantity of material, are more likely to have come to the notice of archaeologists. Significantly the majority of the gold coins are

single finds while bronze is often found in multiples. The table clearly shows that throughout the study area gold comes predominantly from unknown sites and bronze from known sites.

In the instances where gold comes from a known site, 47% of the coins are found with issues struck in other metals. However, on non-settlement sites only 12% of gold coins are found associated with issues in other metals. The percentages aid the argument made above that gold coinage, including single finds, has a tendency to be deliberately deposited in appropriate non-settlement contexts.

The percentages for Cambridgeshire stand out in having inflated figures for silver as site finds at the expense of bronze but, as indicated above, this is a function of the county falling within a mainly silver using region. As Oxfordshire would appear, from the distribution map, to straddle regions each respectively using bronze and silver as its major non-gold coinage, we see a mixing of the two figures.

If coins attributed to the Iceni are excluded from the results for Cambridgeshire, and the results for the county recalculated (table 3), then the picture can be seen to conform more closely to the other areas of the study area, the bias caused by the mainly silver using culture having been removed. Even with the Icenian issues excluded, gold issues still stand out as coming predominantly from non-settlement sites

	AV	AR	AE	Potin
Site finds	30%	20%	40%	10%
Non site finds	50%	19%	28%	3%

Table 3: Percentages of provenance by metal from Cambridgeshire excluding Icenian issues.

Across the study area, as we may have predicted, bronze coinage mainly comes from recorded sites. Nearly half (47%) of all site finds were from known sites compared to 25% from unrecorded sites. The notable exception is Cambridgeshire where bronze forms only 26% of site finds; only marginally higher than the 22% from non-site

contexts. As previously described this is likely to be an effect of much of Cambridgeshire lying within a non-base metal using society as well as covering an area where major settlements are sparse.

For most of the study area, associated archaeological data implies that many of the sites where bronze coinage is concentrated were substantial agglomerations in the late Iron Age. For example, the majority of bronze coins are associated with the known important settlements notably at Baldock, Braughing, Sandy and Verlamion (Appendix A).

An analysis of potin finds from known and unknown sites in the study area follows the pattern set by bronze and silver coinages. This may imply potin was seen as functionally similar to bronze and silver, but different from gold (this argument is developed below pp.62-3). Potin can be seen to predominate as a site find as opposed to a non-site find particularly in Bedfordshire where all recorded potins are from known archaeological sites. Cambridgeshire is an exception having no potins recorded from known sites. Such an anomaly may be a function of the sparsity of recorded sites but is more likely to be an effect of Cambridgeshire being outside the area of potin circulation (see p.60ff).

Both the distribution map analysis and the analysis of coins from known or unknown sites would, therefore, seem to come to comparable conclusions suggesting gold was treated differently from silver, bronze and potins. Gold would appear to come from non-settlement sites, often associated with water and possible important boundaries, infrequently found in quantity or with other metal types. Bronze, silver and potin are more commonly found associated together in groups, on known sites, that can be shown to be important late Iron Age agglomerations.

7.1.2 Gallo-Belgic coin distribution.

With the exception of a coin from Skeleton Green, and another coin which would appear to be associated with defences of Cholesbury hill fort, all Gallo-Belgic coins are from non-settlement contexts. The deliberate deposition of the coins in hoards appears to be characteristic (Fitzpatrick 1992a, 3). It is important to note that all the coins are unstratified apart from a Gallo-Belgic E stater from a late Roman context at Skeleton Green, Puckeridge.

There have are thirteen find locations for Gallo-Belgic A staters within the study area (fig.5) giving a total number of eighteen staters. From the worn condition of many pieces, as elsewhere in Britain, the series would appear to have had a long circulation history (Allen 1960a, 101) which may also be inferred from the presence of the coins in hoards containing much later issues such as Harpsden and Snettisham I (Van Arsdell 1989, 519).

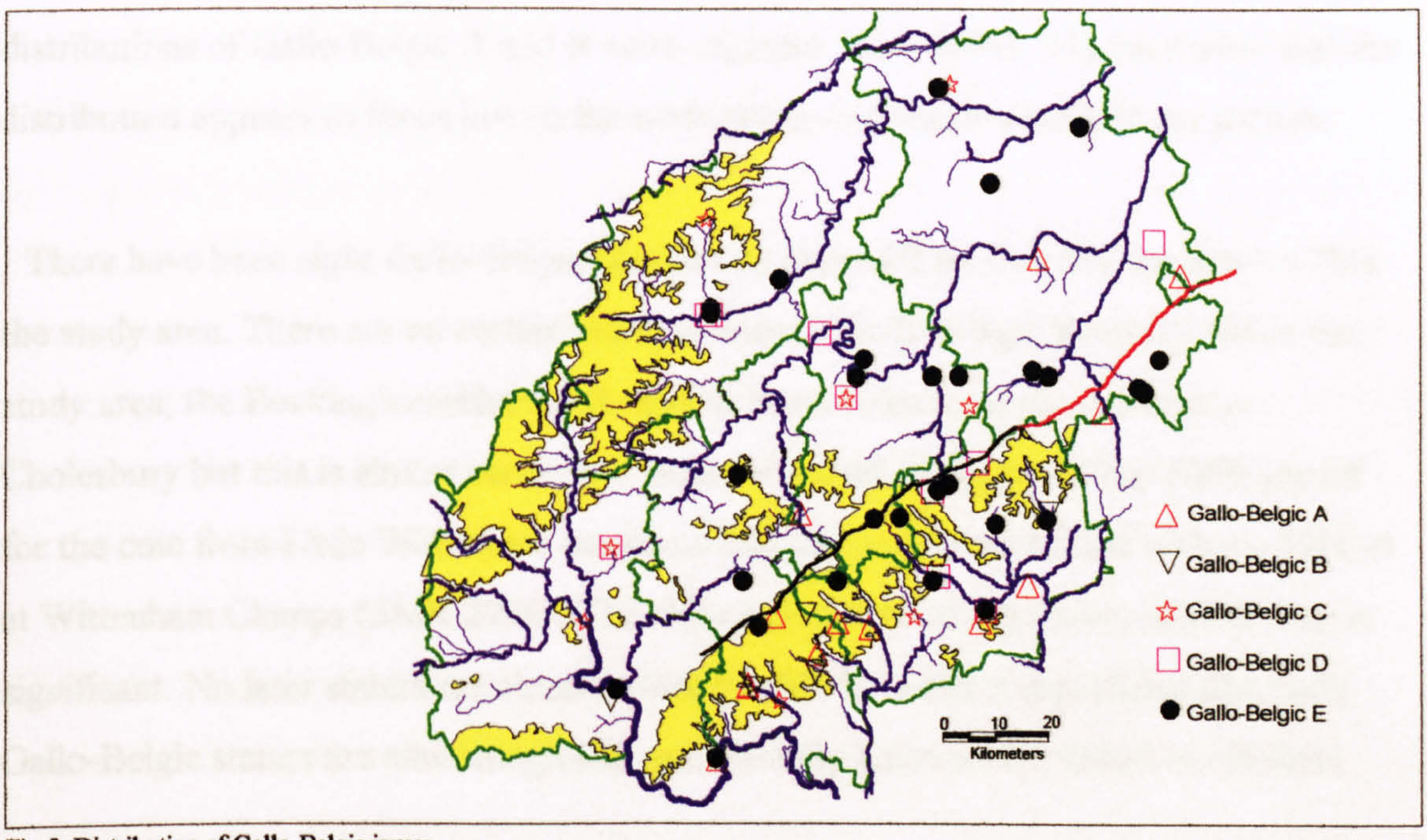

Fig.5: Distribution of Gallo-Belgic issues.

Multiple finds from the study area amounted to three coins from around Henley (Oxfordshire) and pairs of coins from Chartridge (Buckinghamshire), High Wycombe (Buckinghamshire) and Essendon (Hertfordshire) where the two pieces formed part of a large group of votive deposits (I. Stead pers. comm., Appendix A). The distribution of the coins is almost either entirely on, or to the south of, the line formed by the Icknield Way and the Chiltern Ridge with one exception from Over in Cambridgeshire. The strongest concentration appears in the area around Wendover and Princes Risborough on the Chiltern ridge. Other distribution maps (Cunliffe 1981, fig. 39 and Van Arsdell 1989, map 1), drawn on a smaller scale with comparatively less data, indicate that the line observed in the distribution map in fig.5 forms the northern edge of the distribution of Gallo-Belgic A staters. Nash (1987, 110) notes the main focus of the coinage is in

northern Kent and the lower Thames Valley. The northern distribution of the series can now be more clearly defined.

Gallo-Belgic B staters, which may be insular products, and their associated quarter staters appear to have a similar distribution to Gallo-Belgic A with a slight outlier at Little Wittenham, Oxfordshire. The similarity in distribution between the types is likely to be a chronological effect and may suggest that during the period in which these coin types were in circulation the cultures using, or depositing, them did not extend beyond the Chilterns. This is opposite to the opinion of Allen (1960a, 103) who believed that the distributions of Gallo-Belgic A and B were separate. Kent (1981, 41) comments that the distribution appears to focus just to the west of London which would fit our pattern.

There have been eight Gallo-Belgic B issues recovered from five find locations within the study area. There are no certain multiple finds of Gallo-Belgic B staters within the study area; the Buckinghamshire SMR records three coins from the defences at Cholesbury but this is almost certainly a result of record duplication. The SMR record for the coin from Little Wittenham considers that this coin is associated with the hill fort at Wittenham Clumps (SMR 2938). The close association of the staters and hill forts is significant. No later staters are closely related to hill forts and it is probable that early Gallo-Belgic staters are chronologically, and possibly functionally, linked to hill forts.

The eight find locations for Gallo-Belgic C staters are all isolated finds; as with Gallo-Belgic B no multiple finds have as yet been recorded. Unlike the preceding earlier staters, those of Gallo-Belgic C are spread across the study area with only two of the seven find spots to the south of the Icknield Way; suggesting that by the time these coins were in circulation the culture using the staters had spread to encompass much of the area. This is *contra* to Fitzpatrick (1992a, 7) who suggested the distribution to be the same as Gallo Belgic A and B.

Although the absolute numbers of Gallo-Belgic C issues are low, as seen elsewhere in Britain, when compared to Gallo-Belgic A and B, a void is indicated in west Oxfordshire. Previous distribution maps (Cunliffe 1981, fig. 42 and Van Arsdell 1989, map 6) suggest this area is beyond the distribution previously perceived for the issue,

which appears to focus on north Kent. The find spot in north Cambridgeshire corroborates evidence that the distribution continued northwards to the Wash while that in Northamptonshire marks the north westerly limit.

The twenty-two Gallo-Belgic D quarter staters recorded from nine find spots within the study area have a similar distribution to those of Gallo-Belgic C with the addition of a find spot in east Cambridgeshire. Thirteen Gallo-Belgic D quarter staters were found as part of the Essendon votive deposit. The issue had conventionally been given a southern coastal distribution (e.g. Allen 1960a, 111 and Nash 1987, 112).

The comparatively plentiful Gallo-Belgic E staters have come from twenty-nine find spots, giving a total of seventy-two coins. The distribution of the type is more extensive than that of Gallo-Belgic D. The find spots in Cambridgeshire indicate that coin using cultures now existed up through to the north of the county and other distribution maps (Cunliffe, B. 1981, fig. 44 and Van Arsdell R. D 1989, map 7) confirm the distribution into Lincolnshire. As with the other issues, west Oxfordshire appears to remain outside the sphere of circulation.

Gallo-Belgic E staters frequently turn up in hoards and multiple finds are reported at Linton, Cambridgeshire (three coins), Cannon Lane, Luton (two coins), a scattered hoard at Orwell, Cambridgeshire (six coins), Barrington, Cambridgeshire (two coins), Bury, Cambridgeshire (six coins), Harpsden, Oxfordshire (fifteen coins) and Essendon, Hertfordshire (thirteen coins forming part of the votive hoards). For full details of the Essendon material see Appendix A.

The divergent distribution patterns between Gallo-Belgic C, D and E could argue against Burnett's (1996, 6) hypothesis (drawn from metallic composition analysis of Cowell (1992) which overlaps Gallo-Belgic D with C and E, and using data from the Weybourne (Allen 1971, 140) and Fring (unpublished) hoards both of which link Gallo-Belgic D and E) which suggests that Gallo-Belgic D may be the smaller denomination associated with both Gallo-Belgic C and E. Our distribution pattern would appear to indicate that Gallo-Belgic D is more likely to be associated with Gallo-Belgic

C than Gallo-Belgic E. The distributions reflect the picture seen for Gallo-Belgic C, D and E on the continent (Haselgrove 1999, 140-41).

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7.1.3 Distribution of Thurrock cast bronze and potin classes I and II.

It is only since the publication of Van Arsdell's catalogue that pieces of the Thurrock type potin have been commonly recognised and recorded. Eleven pieces have now been recorded from ten find spots within the study area (fig.6). All are metal detected finds found singly except for two found below Boddington hill fort, Wendover (Appendix A). The association with the hill fort is uncertain but a relationship is chronologically plausible as nine Thurrock types have recently been discovered during an excavation at Bobigny, France, in contexts firmly dating them to the early 2nd century BC (Delestrée 1999, 23).

There is only one find spot on the Chiltern scarp and none to the south of this line. The distribution appears to extend north of the Chilterns as far as the river Nene, eastwards into west Cambridgeshire, and into Oxfordshire as far as the Thames. Haselgrove (1996, 119) considers the Thurrock type to have originated in Kent where the main concentration of find spots lie, not Essex as suggested by Van Arsdell (1989), in which case the paucity of find spots to the south of the Chilterns is striking; although it may be the type has simply not been recognised in this area.

With major hoards at Thurrock and Gravesend on opposing sides of the Thames an argument could be made for the Thurrock potins reaching the study area via a route from the east to the north of the Chilterns. Haselgrove (1988, 111) has suggested a water-born agency for the transmission of class I and II potins and it is possible here we are seeing coins conveyed from the Essex coast inland.

Most of the Thurrock type coins are individual finds from unrecorded sites. Only one comes from a known Iron Age settlement site, Stanwick villa in Northamptonshire, where it was found unstratified in the topsoil. Another coin found during the excavation of a deserted medieval village at Stratton, Bedfordshire, also came from the topsoil. Here the excavation archive revealed no evidence for settlement prior to the 10th century AD. Thurrock type coins do not, in general come from settlement sites, which may indicate

they had a similar function to gold, but it could also be a chronological feature if the Thurrock type predates the development of large nucleated settlements.

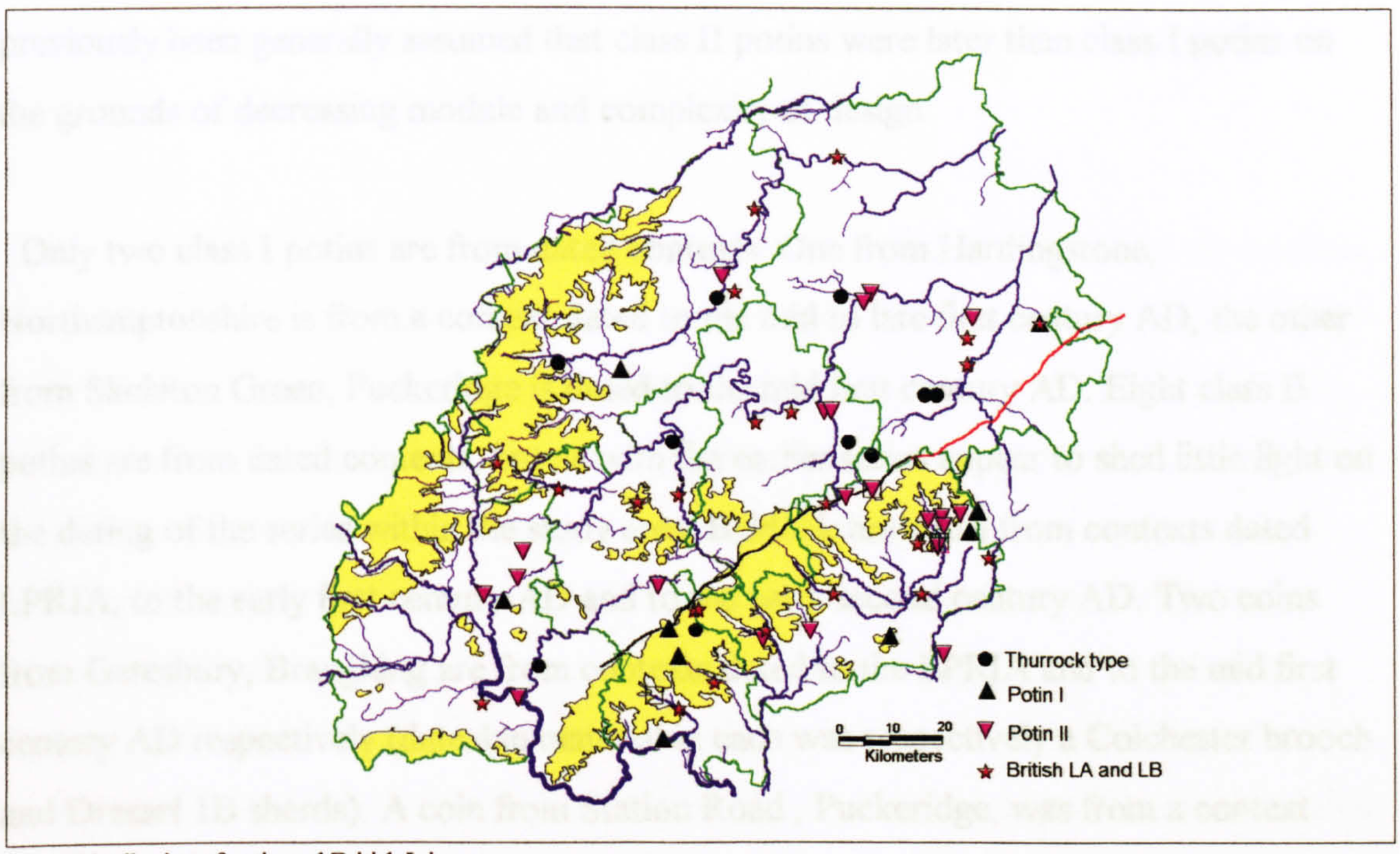


Fig.6: Distribution of potin and British L issues.

The sixteen class I potins from the study area come from nine find spots. Groups of finds are recorded from Marlow (two) and Braughing/Puckeridge (three and four coins respectively). The distribution of the pieces is clearly concentrated on Braughing/Puckeridge and the Chilterns, south Cambridgeshire, south Northamptonshire and east Oxfordshire. The picture is similar to that of the Thurrock type pieces suggesting the two types were produced and used by the same society. The class I potins (dated no later than the very earliest 1st century BC by Haselgrove (1996, 124) but possibly in fact of late 2nd century date, in view of the new dating for Continental Thurrocks) may be seen as a chronological continuation of the Thurrock type.

There are thirty-four class II potins from fifteen find locations. Multiple find spots are Baldock (seven), Braughing/Puckeridge (ten and four respectively) and Sandy (two). The distribution pattern would appear to be broadly similar to that of the class I potins with an increasing emphasis on north Hertfordshire, south Cambridgeshire and east Oxfordshire.

The appearance of a concentration at Baldock may be evidence for a later settlement date for the site and suggests the class I series was in circulation significantly before the class II types for there appears to be no mixing of the types at the settlement. It has previously been generally assumed that class II potins were later than class I potins on the grounds of decreasing module and complexity of design.

Only two class I potins are from dated contexts. One from Hardingstone, Northamptonshire is from a context dated to the mid to late first century AD, the other from Skeleton Green, Puckeridge is dated to the mid first century AD. Eight class II potins are from dated contexts, but as with the earlier series appear to shed little light on the dating of the series within the study area. Baldock has coins from contexts dated LPRIA, to the early first century AD and to the early second century AD. Two coins from Gatesbury, Braughing are from contexts dated to the LPRIA and to the mid first century AD respectively (dateable material in each was respectively a Colchester brooch and Dressel 1B sherds). A coin from Station Road , Puckeridge, was from a context containing a butt beaker and pedestal bowl sherds and dated to the LPRIA. Finally, a coin from Skeleton Green was from a context dated to the early post-conquest period.

We have previously discussed the problems associated with dating the LPRIA and contexts around the invasion period (p.21). However, it is well known that potins, particularly the later (class II) types often come contexts dated to immediately before or up to several decades following the invasion (Haselgrove 1996, 122). Why potins turn up in apparently comparatively late contexts is uncertain, although Wigg (1996, 1997), in discussing northern Gaul, has suggested that some Gaulish coins may have continued in circulation via the Roman army using them as supplements to officially produced coins. A change in function, as suggested above, could have led to a prolongation of their circulation life or they may simply be residual having been redeposited from earlier disturbed contexts.

The pattern fits the national picture which shows the principal circulation area for potins as centring on the lower Thames basin, east Kent, the Essex coast and east Hertfordshire (Haselgrove 1988, 110-11). Unlike the Thurrock pieces, however, the later potins are concentrated on large settlements such as Baldock and Braughing/Puckeridge.

We suggested above that this may be a chronological effect of the major settlements developing after the use of the Thurrock type had been discontinued. Although a change in the function of the coins should not be completely ruled out, the broad similarity in design between the issues, seen in tandem with the settlement bias, may suggest the chronological hypothesis is the more plausible theory.

The majority (77%) of find spots in the study area, as opposed to the absolute numbers of coins, are not apparently from major settlement sites. This finding would appear to be *contra* to Haselgrove (1996, 124-5) whose data indicated to him 77% of finds from north of the Thames came from major nucleated and defended settlements, leading him to suggest that outside their territory of origin (north Kent) and suggested area of primary circulation, potins, most notably class II types, were exported to the most important settlements. The evidence presented here would suggest that as potins are concentrated both at major settlement sites at Canterbury and Rochester south of the Thames, and at Baldock and Braughing/Puckeridge to the north of the Thames, and also at small rural and ritual sites in both regions, the settlement distribution picture is similar in both areas.

From the new distribution pattern it would appear that Haselgrove's (1988, 114) distribution analysis which places potins from Woodeaton, Oxfordshire, as well outside their normal area of circulation, is ungrounded. The coins from Woodeaton appear instead to be on the periphery of the distribution of the type to the north of the Thames. The location of a ritual site here thus emphasising a boundary (see above p.52-3 and below) to an area; not representing a coin being reused in a different cultural environment. The association of ritual sites, coin deposition and territorial boundaries will be seen to be a repeating pattern.

Potin coinages do seem to have been viewed as a kind of valuable and some class I types appear to have had their surfaces deliberately enriched with tin to make them appear more shiny (Hobbs 1996, 16). Potin coins were frequently hoarded, e.g. Thurrock, Essex (Van Arsdell 1989, 542), Stansted Airport (Haselgrove 1993, 51), New Addington, Surrey (Fitzpatrick 1992b), Brentford, Middlesex (Van Arsdell 1989, 532) and several Thames foreshore finds (Cotton and Wood 1996, 25-6). Within the

study area class I and class II potins are associated with the ritual site at Woodeaton, and class II potins are associated with probable ritual sites at Maulden (Bedfordshire), Sandy and Dorchester (see below p.194 and 205). Haselgrove (1996, 124) has noted that potins are also represented at religious sites in northern France, such as the sanctuary at Bennecourt, Yvelines, far from their territory of origin. A probable hoard of four class II potins is recorded from Braughing (Van Arsdell 1989, 532).

Outside the study area a potin has been found with gilding, suggesting that it was treated in this way to be passed off as a counterfeit of a quarter stater of the Gallo-Belgic A and B series, to which it would be of a similar module (Van Arsdell 1984, 257-58), or perhaps a Gallo-Belgic D quarter stater as discussed above. Haselgrove (1988) has noted a possible metrological relationship between quarter staters and potins.

Although most individual potin find spots are in Kent (60% of all find spots); more hoards containing potins (66%) have been found outside the county and, of these, 67% are north of the Thames. As potins are of little intrinsic value the fact they were hoarded over a much wider area indicates that although not as numerically common as in Kent they can be seen to have been seen to have a value to the north of the Thames.

The distribution maps would, therefore, appear to show that potins circulated over a substantial part of the study area, while analysis of find spots suggests they derive from the similar status of sites as potins found in Kent. This implies that they circulated in the areas north and south of the Thames in a similar way, functioning as special purpose money as opposed to all-purpose cash in both areas (see above pp.46 and 52) i.e. we should not view potins as having a primary territory of origin and a separate secondary area of circulation to which they were exported, but instead had a similar and continuous usage over a wide area. Taken with other evidence we can see that the area over which the coins had function and meaning, as with the later Gallo-Belgic issues, spread over a very wide area indeed from northern France to south-west England and up to Snettisham in Norfolk. This large area again suggests that the coins were not issued by a single tribe, as cash authorised by a tribal authority, but produced for a different reason, a reason that had a wide ranging meaning.

7.1.4 Distribution of British A

Conventionally divided into classes A1 and A2, it would seem that the inception of British A1 (Westerham stater) is probably contemporary with the last classes of Gallo-Belgic C to which they are stylistically similar (Allen 1960a, 105). Compositional studies have shown that the two have a very similar composition strongly suggesting British A1 was made from melted down Gallo-Belgic C staters (Cowell 1992, 219). British A2 is slightly baser than Gallo-Belgic C being more similar in composition to Gallo-Belgic E.

Sills (1996), working from new finds from Ingoldisthorpe, Norfolk and Littleport, Cambridgeshire, suggested a term A0, or Ingoldisthorpe type, for these coins which he believes form a new series that are related to, but predate, A1. Sills believed that the Ingoldisthorpe type appears to imitate the design of the Gallo-Belgic C stater but has decorative embellishments that appeared with Gallo-Belgic E even though all the essential elements of the design, e.g. decorated exergue, design of horse and reverse abstraction, can all be accounted for from Gallo-Belgic C (especially VA46). Extrapolating from the fact that the type may be contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E, traditionally dated to the period of the Gallic War, Sills suggests the Ingoldisthorpe issue was produced by Cassivellaunus as an emergency coinage to finance resistance against Caesar.

Subsequently Sills (1997) considered that the Ingoldisthorpe type was minted at two sites and developed the British A sequence further to incorporate his hypothesis. Thus the Ingoldisthorpe type is correspondingly termed British A0 (from mint A) and A3 (from mint B). Furthermore, he sees A1 as having been minted at mint A, A2 is still seen as the south Thames variant of the Westerham stater, while British A4 is the equivalent of the A1 Westerham stater from mint B. Sills (1998) later included a second north Thames mint, the products of which he identifies on typological grounds, and sees Ingoldisthorpe types being produced at both but Westerham types at one only.

However, as we consider Sills' stylistic argument to be incorrect then his belief that the Ingoldisthorpe issue is contemporary with Gallo-Belgic E cannot be upheld and further assumptions particularly that the issue is an emergency issue by Casssivellaunus cannot

be sustained. Indeed it may be that the Ingoldisthorpe type is itself derived from the Westerham.

It is theoretically possible that British A2 was derived from Gallo-Belgic E but it has been argued (Burnett and Cowell 1988, 1-10), from the degree of wear on coins from the Whitchurch hoard containing Gallo-Belgic E and British B, that British B, and hence also British A, predates the inception of Gallo-Belgic E. British A, as well as being derived from Gallo-Belgic C metal, is also intermediate in weight between these and the Gallo-Belgic E issues (Nash 1987, 123).

The recent work by Haselgrove (1999, 11) proposes a late 2nd century BC date for Gallo-Belgic C and an early 1st century BC date for the beginning of Gallo-Belgic E suggesting that British A is earlier in date than had previously been thought (e.g. Nash 1987; Sills 1996, 1997). Fitzpatrick (1992a, 22) has postulated that British A was struck to *emulate* some of the uses of Gallo-Belgic coinages and suggests that as British A comes from mainly non-settlement contexts that they were used in a similar way. If, as now seems probable, Gallo-Belgic issues are wholly or partly British in origin, and probably originated there, such a point obviously cannot be disputed. Nash (1987, 45), however, believed that British A was produced from gold received as payment to mercenaries. She also commented that British A was issued in central southern Britain (and hence termed 'Atrebatic A' by Van Arsdell (1989)) by a British grouping in the ascendant, whose activities produced a distribution wider than their own tribal area, forming a distribution pattern of an arc "around the perimeter of the South-Eastern Belgic zone" (Nash 1987, 123).

It is clear from the distribution map (fig.7) that the two classes, A1 and A2, have different distributions. There are eleven coins from six find spots for British A1 in the study area. The only multiple find is of four staters from the ritual deposit at Essendon. Two or more coins have been reported from the High Wycombe area and another two from Ely. All but one of the find spots for the class are south of the Icknield way, lie on or close to the Chilterns, are associated with rivers or the source of rivers and are apparently from non-settlement contexts.

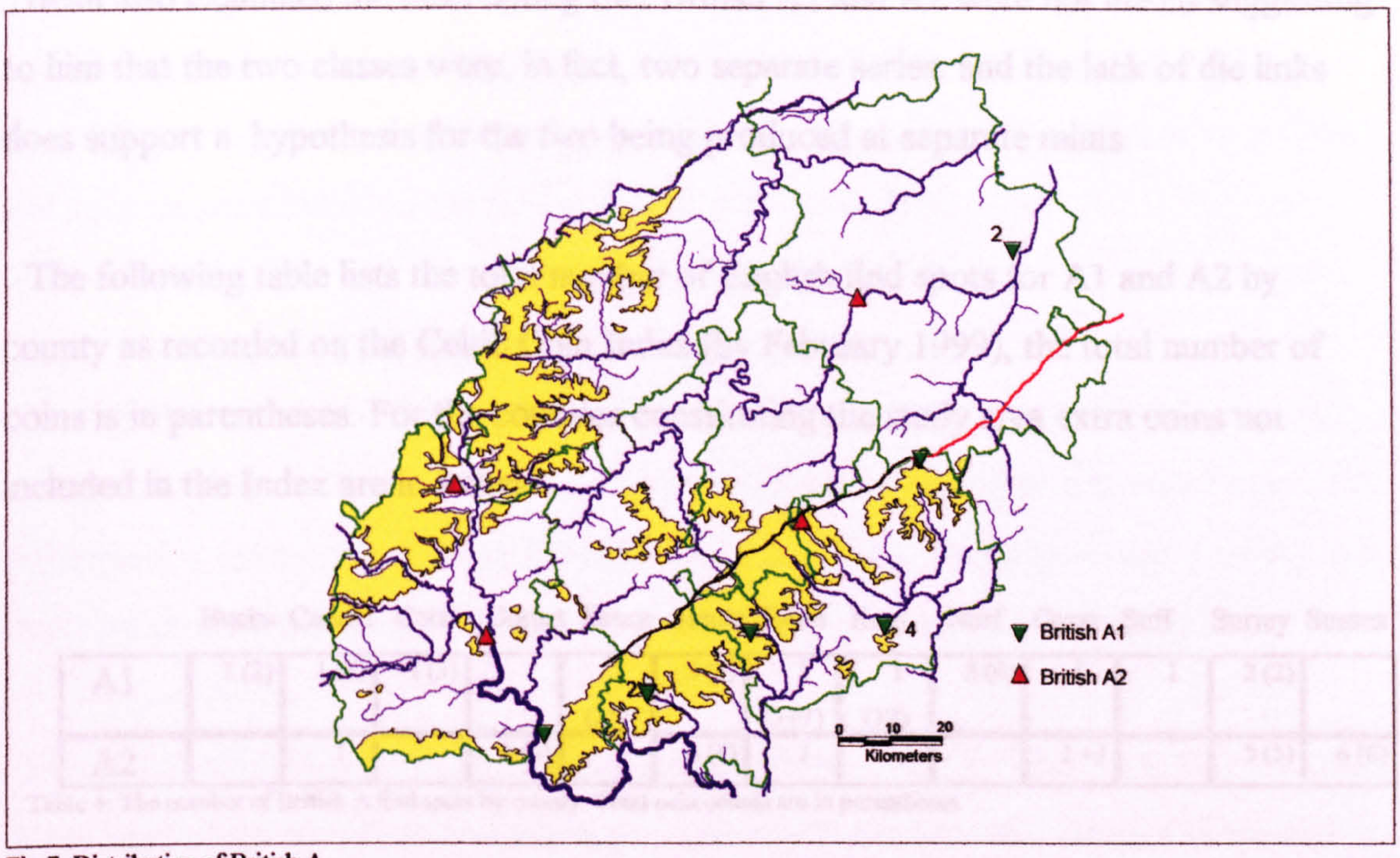


Fig.7: Distribution of British A.

The four examples of British A2 are from four find spots. The distribution of the class is more extensive than British A1 with find spots extending into mid-Cambridgeshire and into Oxfordshire as far as the Thames and Cherwell valleys. Allen (1960a, 105), working from his limited database, had stated that British A was almost entirely absent from the areas of Gallo-Belgic A and B, at least north of the Thames. The present data negate this remark.

As with the preceding distributions, the emergence of a wider distribution to the north and west could be taken to indicate a chronological feature determined by the cultural use of the type becoming more widespread by the time British A2 was issued.

An alternative interpretation has been put forward by Bean (1993) who looked at a distribution plot across southern Britain and also noted disparate distributions. Bean's distribution map is dissimilar to the data presented in fig.7, and shows British A1 to be predominant north of the Thames and British A2 south of the Thames with no find spots of British A2 north of the Thames whatsoever. The picture of British A1 having a more northerly distribution to A2 had previously been noted by Mackensen (1974).

Bean also examined die links noting that British A1 and A2 were not linked suggesting to him that the two classes were, in fact, two separate series; and the lack of die links does support a hypothesis for the two being produced at separate mints.

The following table lists the total number of English find spots for A1 and A2 by county as recorded on the Celtic Coin Index (by February 1999), the total number of coins is in parentheses. For the counties constituting the study area extra coins not included in the Index are in Italics.

	Bucks	Cambs	Corn	Dorset	Essex	Hants	Herts	Kent	Norf	Oxon	Suff	Surrey	Sussex
A1	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (3)		7 (25)	3 (3)	3 (5+*1*)	1 (12)	3 (6)	1	1	2 (2)	
A2		1		4 (5)		4 (4)	*1*			1 +*1*		5 (5)	6 (6)

Table 4: The number of British A find spots by county. Total coin counts are in parentheses.

The total number of find spots indicates that A1 predominates in Cornwall (forming part of the Carn Brea hoard), Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. British A2 predominates in Dorset, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey and Sussex.

The broad distribution information when added to the distribution pattern seen in fig.7 would appear to indicate that the hypothesis of A1 being a north Thames type and A2 a south Thames type is too simplistic. Instead A1 would appear to be an eastern type with a northern boundary fronting the Chilterns, and arcing up through east Cambridgeshire into Norfolk and incorporating Essex and Suffolk. Within the study area the distribution is similar to that of Gallo-Belgic B.

British A2 could be seen to form a region to the south-west of A1 reaching north-easterly from the south coast across Oxfordshire into west Cambridgeshire.

Such a geographical divergence may suggest that the different distribution may not be chronological spread but a production of two different types by two different regions.

Sills (1996, 1997) suggested British A1 was (as with his Ingoldisthorpe hypothesis (p.64)) produced by Cassivellaunus, as leader of the British coalition, to finance resistance to Caesar in 54 BC. It may be that Cassivellaunus did rule the area north of

the Thames highlighted by the distribution of British A1 staters (i.e. the Chilterns), but such an argument is not important here. What is important is that British A can be shown, by its relationship to Gallo-Belgic C and E, to predate the Caesarean incursions and consequently Sills' hypothesis is chronologically unviable.

7.1.5 Distribution of British LA and LB.

Twelve British LA and fifteen British LB staters are recorded from twenty-three find spots in the study area, plus at least thirty-seven, and possibly several hundred more, LA staters and at least one LB stater from the Whaddon Chase hoard (see Appendix A). All the other coins were individual finds from unstratified and non-settlement contexts.

British LA and LB staters are influential as it is from them, via British M, that the coins at the head of the inscribed dynastic series, those of Addedomaros, derive (Fitzpatrick 1992, 24). Their circulation pattern, marking out the area in which the staters had meaning, may be of significance in its relationship to the early dynastic issues.

The distribution pattern of the LA and LB staters (fig.6) shows a scattering across the study area but with notable voids in north-east Cambridgeshire, in Northamptonshire to the west of the river Nene, and much of Oxfordshire. Smaller scale distribution maps (Cunliffe 1981, fig. 47 and Van Arsdell 1989, Map 66) would indicate that the study area straddles the northern and western limits of the distribution which would appear to focus on west Essex. It may be that the distribution, wider than of British A, shows a cultural spread through time, perhaps either by expansion or coalition of groupings, just as the distribution of British A2 was wider than British A1.

There has been some debate concerning the relative dating and the tribal attribution of British L. Stylistically the series is related to the issues of Cunobelin and Tasciovanus and therefore arguments that revolve around whether these two leaders were Catuvellaunian or Trinovantian (or indeed anything else) hinges on who and when issued British L.

Allen (1944, 11) placed British L late in his series (late 1st century BC), believing them to be derived from British H or I and ultimately Gallo-Belgic C. Harding (1974, 208) dated them to the mid-1st century BC, believing them to have been issued by

Cassivellaunus. Rodwell (1976, 200, 243 and 248) suspected that they were earlier and were derived directly from Gallo-Belgic C. Van Arsdell (1983, 9-11) sees British L as being derived from Gallo-Belgic F and bearing Romanised images copied from Roman Republican coins, stating they were issued by the Trinovantes. The distribution map sheds little light on the problem as the distribution pattern is similar to those of the later Gallo-Belgic coinages and the following dynastic gold issues of the region, such as Tasciovanus.

British L is associated with two important hoards found within the study area notably from Whaddon Chase (Buckinghamshire) and Buckingham (Shalstone). Whaddon Chase possibly contained as many as 2000 coins but was mainly composed of at least 226 British LA and 72 British Q issues. Other issues that are also thought to have been part of the hoard are a single Gallo-Belgic E issue, a Gallo-Belgic F issue, two issues of British I and a possible British LB. The Buckingham hoard also associates British LA and British Q being composed of 15 and 23 of each respectively. Hoards from within the study area containing several Gallo-Belgic E staters e.g. Ryarsh (Cambridgeshire), Harpsden (Oxfordshire), Bury (Cambridgeshire), Orwell (Cambridgeshire) and Essendon (Hertfordshire) (see Appendix A), and outside the study area at Clacton (Essex), Selsey (Sussex), Scartho (Lincolnshire), Folkestone (Kent), Southend (Essex), Farnham (Surrey), never contain British L staters. Such hoard evidence demonstrates that British L postdates Gallo-Belgic E; the single issue from Whaddon Chase is likely to have been a residual part of the coinage pool at the time the hoard was assembled, and may also come late in the British Q sequence as British L is absent from the Essendon assemblage.

A closer examination of the distribution appears to suggest that the find spots form meandering lines; such as along the southern edge of the Chilterns through east Hertfordshire, and also from south Northamptonshire, arcing up through mid-Buckinghamshire into mid-Bedfordshire.

The possibility of gold coins marking boundaries has been noted (p.52) and here we may be seeing such a dividing up and boundary of a territorial unit or the movement of such a boundary during the functional life of the coins. We have also noted (p.52) the association of gold with water, gold with ritual sites and rivers as boundaries. It may be

that on a broad tribal or sub-tribal level all these factors come into play to produce a single event.

7.1.6 Distribution of British Lx types.

The North Thames Group or British Lx were terms created by Allen (1960a, 109) to identify a series of uninscribed gold, silver and bronze coins that he considered to be contemporary with the British L staters but forming a distinct area to the north, centring on Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire at Braughing and Sandy but also spreading out to Bury St Edmunds and Colchester.

Since Allen, Lx9 has been found to be inscribed ADDE, and is hence ascribed to Addedomaros (Williams 1998, 54), while Lx24 has been found inscribed DV, and is now ascribed to Dubnovellaunus.

Rodwell (1976, 206-7) has suggested the bronze coins were struck to supersede the potin issues, while Fitzpatrick (1985, 62) and Haselgrove (1987, 197-98) suggest that the adoption of a tri-metallic coinage series was derived from the Roman model.

There has been much debate over who issued uninscribed Lx coins. Of the twenty-eight types identified by Allen, seventeen are represented in the study area, but only seven types are represented by more than four find spots. The seven are Lx2, Lx8, Lx14, Lx21, Lx22, Lx23 and Lx24. Mack (1975) ascribes Lx2, Lx21 and Lx22 to Addedomaros, Lx 23 to Dubnovellaunus on stylistic grounds and Lx8 and Lx14 he terms uncertain East Midlands issues. Van Arsdell (1989) agrees, in general with Allen but terms Lx8 Middle Whaddon Chase, i.e. he assumes it to be connected to and slightly later than the British L staters, and Lx14 is ascribed to Addedomaros. Hobbs (1996) ascribes Lx2, a gold quarter stater, to Addedomaros following Van Arsdell and Mack, definitely allocates the bronze unit Lx23 to Dubnovellaunus, but terms Lx8 and Lx14 as early uninscribed 'LX' silver and Lx21, Lx22 and Lx24 as uncertain northern bronze.

The distribution of the quarter stater Lx2 is presented in fig.8. There have been nine coins of the issue recovered from nine find spots in the study area. The distribution of the finds is scattered across south central Cambridgeshire and the Chilterns. Spreading

northwards up through eastern Oxfordshire and Bedfordshire into central Northamptonshire. The distribution is similar to that previously observed for Gallo-Belgic D (fig.5).

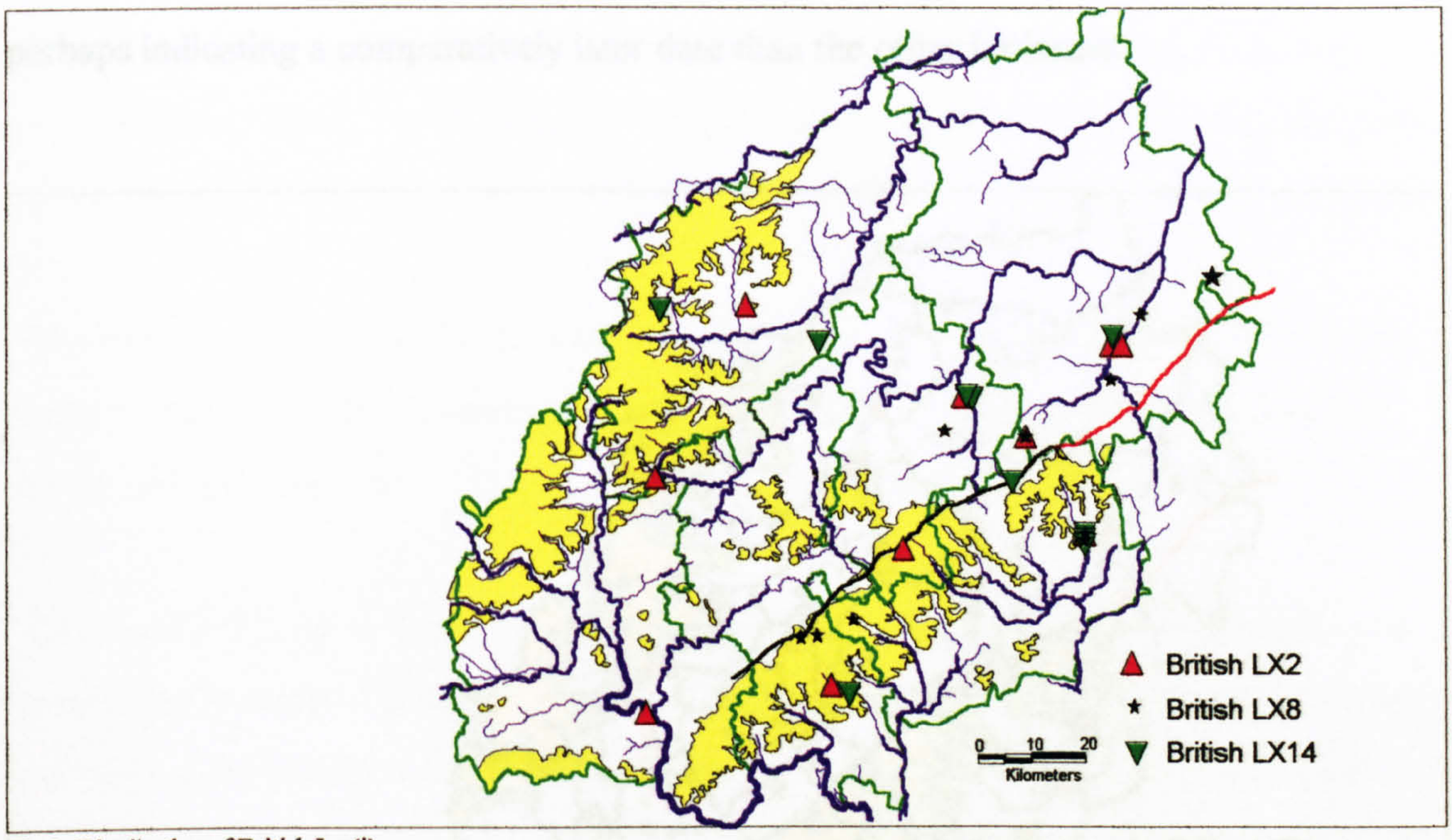


Fig.8: Distribution of British Lx (i).

The nine coins from eight find spots representing the silver unit British Lx8 have a different and more southerly and easterly distribution. The coins being dispersed on the Chilterns, south Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. There may be different foci for the issue in the north (around Braughing where 2 coins have been recorded) and south Chilterns (around Wendover).

The silver unit British Lx14 has eleven coins reported from ten find spots. The distribution of the issue would appear to have an intermediate distribution between Lx2 and Lx8 with finds around the Chilterns but spreading northwards up through east Bedfordshire (Sandy) into central and west Northamptonshire, and also into southern Cambridgeshire. There is a notable lack of Lx14 issues on the western side of the study area. Multiples of finds (two in each case) have been recovered from Braughing, Baldock and Sandy indicating a clear concentration in north Hertfordshire and east Bedfordshire.

The bronze/copper unit British Lx21 has a very wide distribution across the study area being found in all areas except north-west Northamptonshire, east Cambridgeshire and west Oxfordshire. Only Lx22 has a wider distribution with find spots in east Cambridgeshire. This would indicate a wider cultural acceptance of the two issues; perhaps indicating a comparatively later date than the other Lx issues.

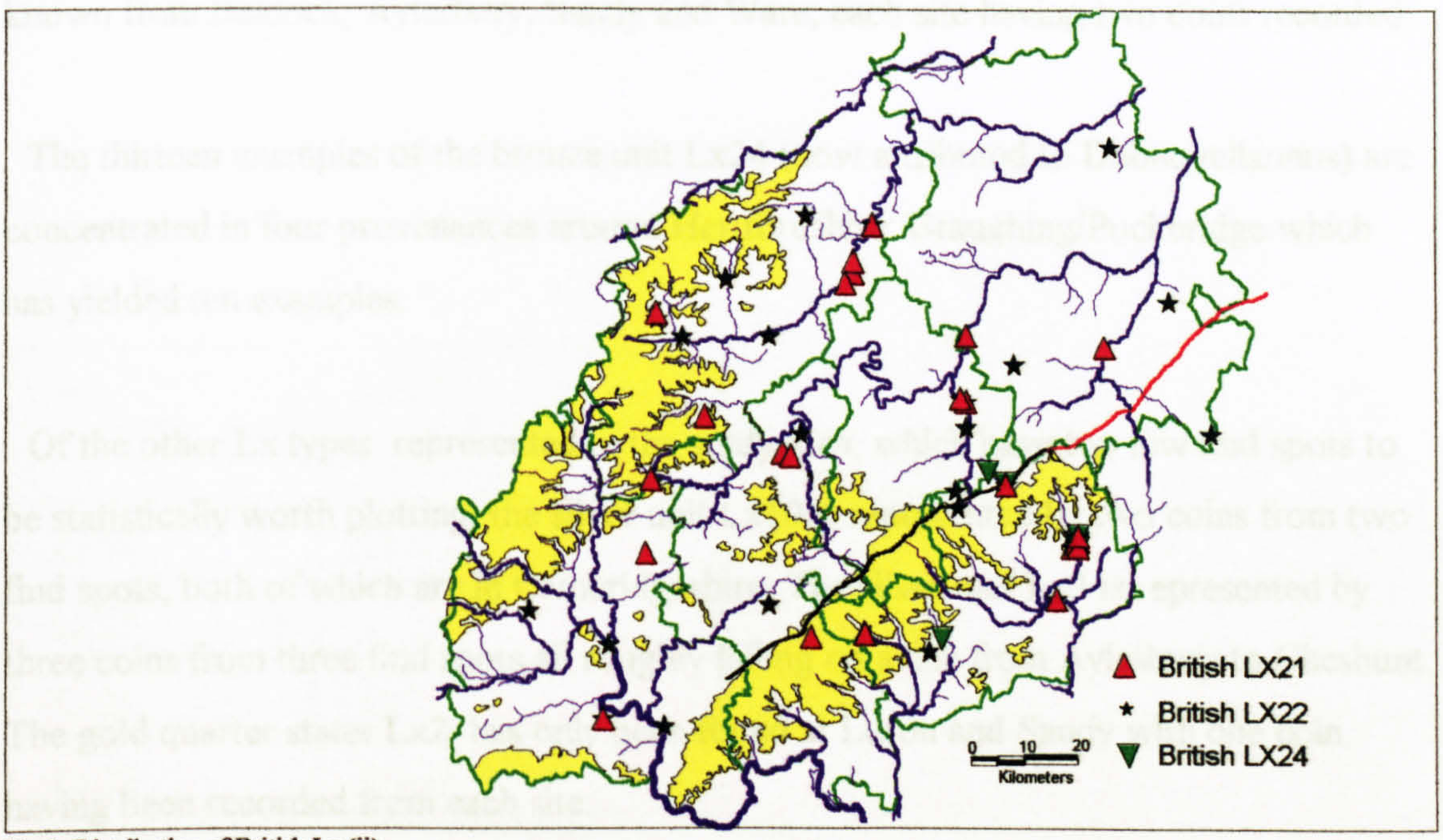


Fig.9: Distribution of British Lx (ii).

There are fifty-seven coins of the Lx21 type recorded in the study area. They are particularly concentrated in east Bedfordshire (Sandy has seven) and north Hertfordshire (four from Baldock and twenty-three from Braughing/Puckeridge).

All Lx types discussed here, with the exception of the rare Lx2 issue, appear to be concentrated on the Braughing/Puckeridge area. All three examples of Lx9 from the study area come from the site. Indicating not only the importance of the settlement during the period of the Lx coinage, but also, perhaps, their point of origin. Other concentrations of Lx21 are seen at Berkhampsted (two), Evenley (four) and Sutton Courtenay in Oxfordshire (three).

There is a notable concentration along the river Nene in Northamptonshire reinforced by two coins from Raunds and another two from Titchmarsh in north Northamptonshire. Only Lx22 is similarly concentrated in this area and all the earlier Iron Age coin types

previously discussed are rare in the region. As described above, a chronological expansion of sphere of circulation through time would be the most likely hypothesis to explain this.

The forty-nine examples of the widely dispersed bronze issue Lx22 type are heavily concentrated at Braughing/Puckeridge with fourteen examples. Minor concentrations are known from Baldock, Aylesbury, Sandy and Ware; each site having two coins recorded.

The thirteen examples of the bronze unit Lx24 (now attributed to Dubnovellaunus) are concentrated in four provenances around Hertfordshire: Braughing/Puckeridge which has yielded ten examples.

Of the other Lx types represented in the study area, which have too few find spots to be statistically worth plotting, the silver unit Lx10 is represented by two coins from two find spots, both of which are in Cambridgeshire. The silver unit Lx3 is represented by three coins from three find spots all roughly falling on a line from Aylesbury to Cheshunt. The gold quarter stater Lx2 has only been found at Luton and Sandy with one coin having been recorded from each site.

It is clear that the Lx types do not arc around the British L staters as suggested by Allen (1960a), the distribution being similar over much of the study area, although British L staters do appear in north Buckinghamshire, and British Lx in west and central Northamptonshire, but not *vice versa.*

The observed difference in distributions of types belonging to the Lx series is interesting. As all the plotted types concentrate at Braughing/Puckeridge, it is difficult to argue a different issuing authority for the main elements of the series. This leaves only a chronological argument to be made for the more common types; leading us to view the series in a sequential way. To do this we must adopt the assumption that the series expanded its distribution through time. This would presumably place Lx9 early in the series; although inscribed issues are conventionally placed later in the series. The early types were followed at some point by Lx24, Lx23, Lx21 and finally Lx22. If we further assume that bronze issues may have precious metal counterparts then the distribution of

Lx2 most closely resembles Lx21, Lx8 resembles Lx24 and Lx14 superficially resembles Lx22.

In trying to link precious metal and base metal issues we should note that although such issues may have similar distributions they often come from different site types, as observed above (p.50ff); a factor made most visually obvious by the presence of gold and silver coinages and the virtual lack of base metal issues along the Chilterns.

The sequence of development of the Lx series as it would appear from the distribution analysis can be summarised as:

AE	AR/AV
	Lx9
Lx24	Lx8
Lx23	
Lx21	Lx2
Lx22	?Lx14

Table 5: Sequence of Lx issues from distribution maps

Table 5 can be compared with the typological sequences proposed by Haselgrove (1987, which develops Rodwell 1976) and Van Arsdell (1989). Note that Van Arsdell deleted Lx9 from his catalogue.

Eastern series	South-Eastern series
	Phase 6 series 2: Lx14
Phase 6 series 3: Lx8 Lx9	
	Phase 7 series 2: Lx23 Lx24
	Phase 7 series3: Lx2
	Phase 7 series 4: Lx21 Lx22

Table 6: Sequence of Lx issues after Haselgrove (1987)

Lx8	Trinovantian E
Lx22	Trinovantian I
Lx2 Lx14	Trinovantian J
Lx21	Trinovantian K
Lx23 Lx24	Trinovantian L

Table 7: Sequence of issues after Van Arsdell (1989)

It is interesting that the typological sequences of Haselgrove and Van Arsdell (tables 6 and 7) are quite different to each other and highlights that there are problems in typological studies just as in distribution studies. The results from the distribution analysis (table 5)over the present study area are clearly more in line with the sequence proposed by Haselgrove. Future plotting of finds may help the sequence to gain greater resolution.

7.1.7 Distribution of the issues of Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunus.

The name Addedomaros has no historical parallels and is always inscribed on coins with barred 'D's. His early gold staters have close stylistic similarities with the early gold of Tasciovanus (Hobbs 1996, 20) and there is considerable overlap with the Lx and Ly series. Coins of the type (after Van Arsdell 1989, Map 68) would appear to concentrate in Essex and Hertfordshire but also spread into East Anglia and the Midlands. Van Arsdell does not state which issues he chose to include in his plot and has attempted to attribute a number of issues to Addedomaros for which there is little evidence. Allen (1944, 16) produced a plot that would appear to show inscribed types spreading from north Essex through to south Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. Allen points out "it is noticeable that his coins are never found across the Icenian frontier (Allen 1944, 16).

Fig.10, like Allen, only includes types bearing an inscription ascribing them to Addedomaros and the same factor is also used in the consideration of the coinage of Dubnovellaunus. The thirty-four inscribed coins of Addedomaros are represented by twenty-two find locations in the study area. Multiple finds have been made in

Hertfordshire at Baldock (two), Braughing (four, three of which are the recently allocated Lx9 type), Essendon (two) and Tring (two), and in Buckinghamshire at Aston Clinton (three), Iver (two) and in a cluster of four places around High Wycombe.

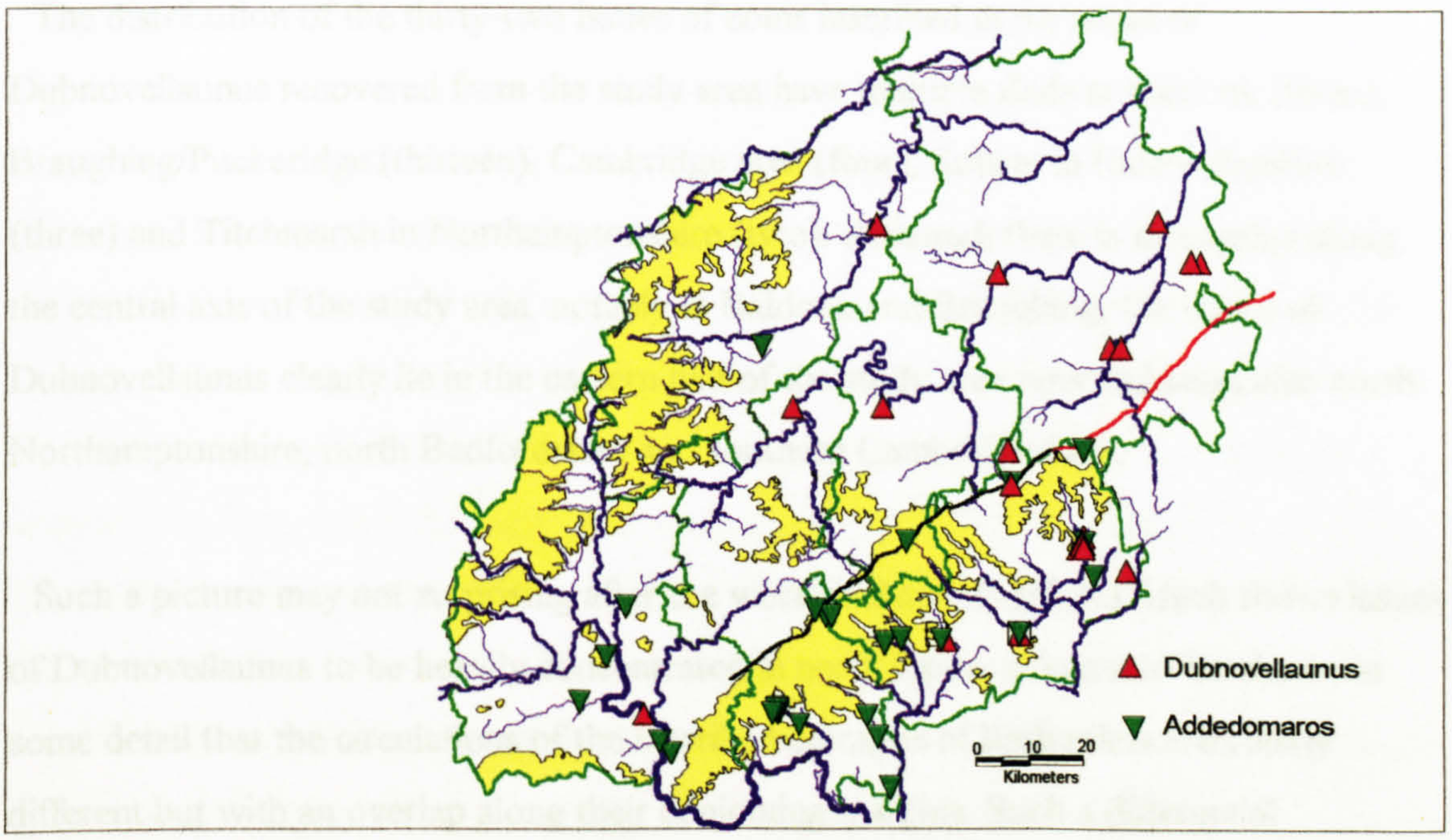


Fig. 10: Distribution of issues inscribed in the name of Dubnovellaunus and Addedomaros

Addedomaros types have only been recorded in the central and southern part of the study area with voids in north and west Northamptonshire, the coins not reaching beyond the Nene valley, or into north Bedfordshire or Cambridgeshire. The types are clearly concentrated in the area of the Chilterns, i.e. in south Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire, perhaps pointing to this area as their place of origin.

If Van Arsdell (1989) is correct in dividing the coinage of Addedomaros up into three phases then all the coins of the first series lie on or south of the Chilterns. Only the later varieties extend beyond this area. We can note that British Lx2 has a similar distribution to the issues of Addedomaros. The distributions of Lx8, Lx14 and Lx21 are also broadly similar. While Lx24 confirms closely with the narrow distribution of the possible first coinage of Addedomaros.

The issues of Dubnovellaunus are stylistically related to those of Addedomaros (Hobbs 1996, 20). Allen (1944, 23 and 30) distinguished two distinct areas of circulation for different issues of Dubnovellaunus in Essex and Kent and these patterns have appeared to remain consistent (Cunliffe 1981).

The distribution of the thirty-two issues of coins inscribed in the name of Dubnovellaunus recovered from the study area have multiple finds at Baldock (three), Braughing/Puckeridge (thirteen), Cambridge area (four), Soham in Cambridgeshire (three) and Titchmarsh in Northamptonshire (two). Although there is an overlap along the central axis of the study area, notably at Baldock and Braughing, the issues of Dubnovellaunus clearly lie in the eastern half of the study area now including also north Northamptonshire, north Bedfordshire and southern Cambridgeshire.

Such a picture may not surprising after the work of Rodwell (1976) which shows issues of Dubnovellaunus to be heavily concentrated in north Essex. It can now be shown in some detail that the circulations of the inscribed coinages of both rulers are clearly different but with an overlap along their conjoining margins. Such a differential distribution would indicate that if we were to try and associate the uninscribed Lx types discussed above (Lx2, 8, 14, 21, 22 and 24) to either Addedomaros or Dubnovellaunus then we should opt for Addedomaros.

As several types, particularly Lx21 and Lx22, are not only found in the same areas as the inscribed issues of Addedomaros, but are also found along the Nene valley in north Northamptonshire and in Cambridgeshire, it may be wise to suggest that any hypotheses attempting to link uninscribed Lx types to inscribed issues may be too simplistic and the true picture could be considerably more complex.

The Braughing/Puckeridge area has produced a considerably larger number of issues belonging to Dubnovellaunus than those of Addedomaros. This picture is unlikely to signify any kind of comparative dominance over one issuer to another and is most likely a denominational function. The issues of Dubnovellaunus are entirely base metal while those of Addedomaros are gold and silver. On large open settlements base metal

coinages are always seem to predominate, while we have observed that gold is frequently associated with non-settlement contexts, consequently we cannot use distribution maps to resolve such problems.

7.1.8 Distribution of the coins attributed to the Iceni.

A plot of the coins attributed to the Iceni, or Haselgrove's (1987) East Anglian series (fig.11) shows the issues to be heavily concentrated, as we would expect, in the far eastern part of the study area. Some coins have clearly moved outside their area of primary circulation. There a number of possibilities as to how coins may have become widely dispersed from their primary circulation area in antiquity, such as by the Roman army, and these are discussed below. Mention must also be made of modern methods of dispersal, coins can be lost by collectors or gain false provenances. For example, an Icenian coin from below the high water mark at Boddington Reservoir, Northamptonshire, was found not only with Roman pottery but also with two American Indian arrowheads. The chance of such a coins having been deposited here in antiquity would seem slim and the probability the coin forms part of a disposed of collection high.

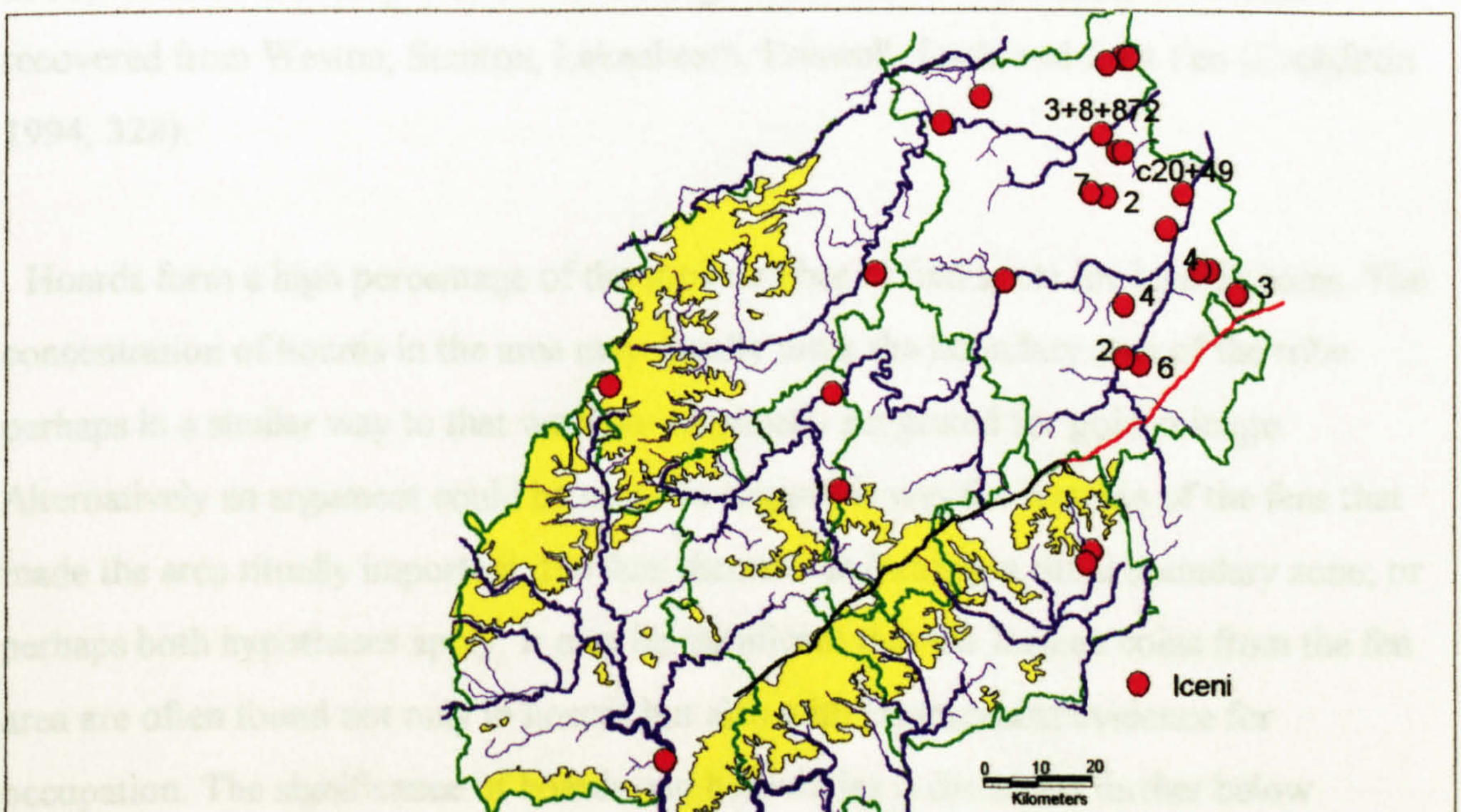


Fig.11: Distribution of coins attributed to the Iceni.

East Anglia is the region traditionally associated with the Iceni, who may be the same as the 'Cenimagni' recorded as one of the five tribes who submitted to Caesar (DBG V,

21, 1). The main coin distribution has been seen to centre on Norfolk and north-east Cambridgeshire and northern Suffolk (Hobbs 1996, 28-9). The plot (fig.11) would indicate that the limit of the territory would certainly seem to include north-east Cambridgeshire but the whole of the eastern side of the county could be said to fall within the territory.

The Icenian region is characterised by a large number of coin hoards which are predominantly composed of silver issues. Amanda Chadburn (pers. comm.) suggests around thirty are known in total of which about ten are published. The study area includes hoards from Langwood Hill (Chatteris), the Field Baulk and West Fen hoards (both from March), Kings Fen (Chippenham; consisting of eight staters of Cunobelin) and Stonea (Wimblington). Other possible hoards come from Soham and Cherry Hinton. It should be noted that the majority of Icenian hoards were deposited in the early Roman period (Allen 1970, Chadburn 1992, Creighton 1994). Examples from the study area are the Field Baulk hoard which was contained in a beaker dated c.AD 60-70 (Chadburn 1992, 80) and the Chatteris hoard may have contained eleven Imperial *denarii* (Burnett 1986). Outside the study area hoards mixing Icenian and Roman coins have been recovered from Weston, Stanton, Lakenheath, Eriswell, Scole and Joist Fen (Creighton 1994, 328).

Hoards form a high percentage of the total number of find spots for Icenian coins. The concentration of hoards in the area may ritually mark the boundary area of the tribe perhaps in a similar way to that we have previously suggested for gold coinage. Alternatively an argument could be made to suggest it was the wetness of the fens that made the area ritually important, the fens themselves forming a ritual boundary zone; or perhaps both hypotheses apply. It may be significant that the Icenian coins from the fen area are often found not only in hoards but also with insubstantial evidence for occupation. The significance of hoards and boundaries is discussed further below (p.107).

A boundary could be postulated around the central axis of the modern Cambridgeshire, specifically following the fen edge.

7.1.9 Distribution of the coins attributed to the Dobunni.

The distribution of coins attributed to the Dobunni is plotted in fig.12. Most of the find spots are in Oxfordshire. It is noticeable that the concentration of find spots is most marked to the west of the Thames-Cherwell line. We have observed above when dealing with other distributions (Gallo-Belgic, potin and British L) that issues ascribed to cultural groupings from the east of Oxfordshire do not penetrate beyond the line. Sellwood (1984, 195) has suggested the Thames-Cherwell line forms the eastern and southern boundaries of the Dobunnic territory while Van Arsdell (Van Arsdell and de Jersey 1994, 24-5) would suggest a line roughly between Marlborough and Grim's Ditch. The evidence here would seem to suggest the area south of the Thames, in the area of our study, is also in Dobunnic territory, reaching across the vale of the White Horse to the Ridgeway. A large number of coins have been found in the area of the White Horse and the associated hillfort perhaps indicating a ritual boundary zone and may account for the chalk figure at this point which would be a highly visible way of marking territory.

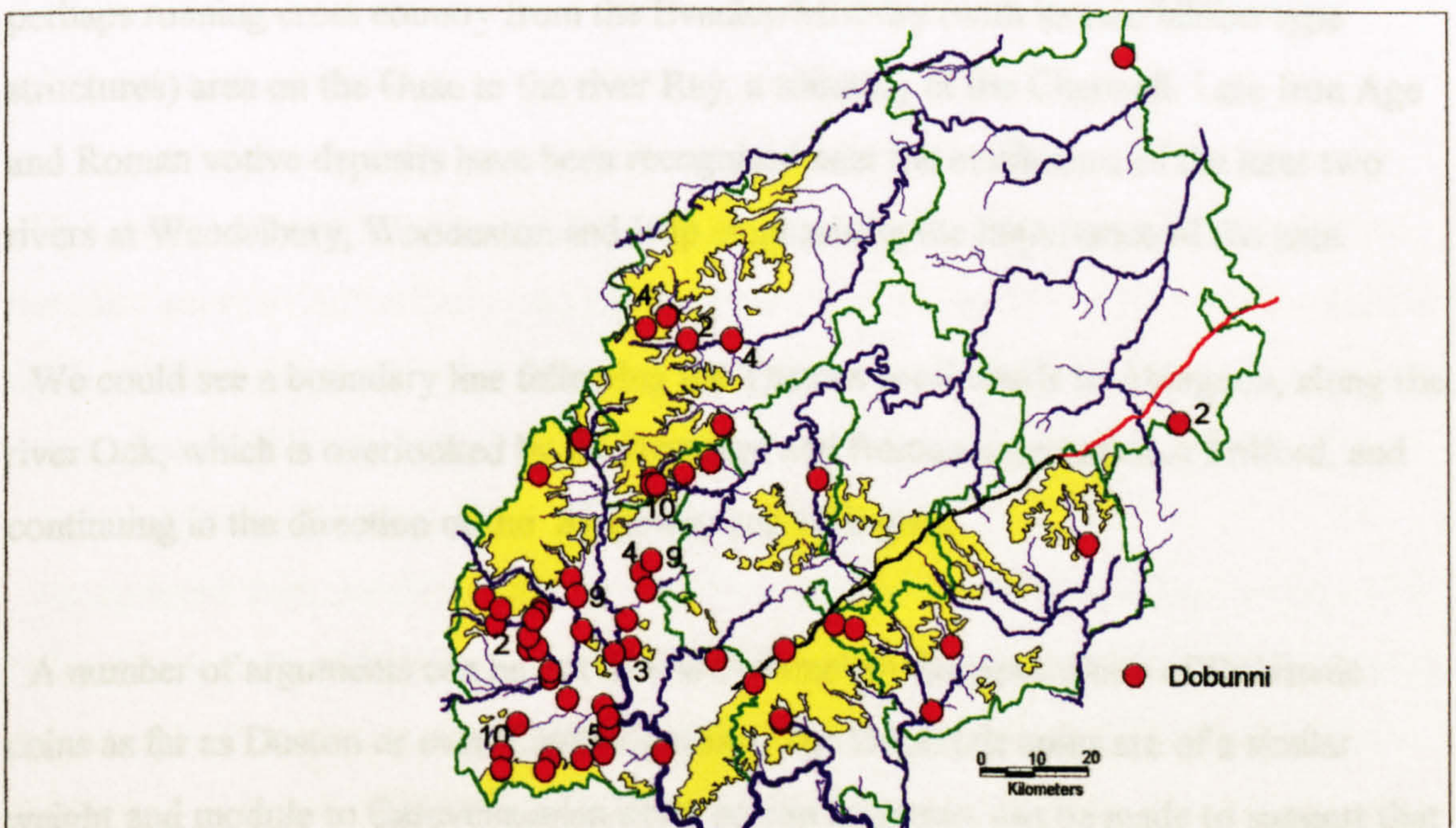


Fig.12: Distribution of coins attributed to the Dobunni.

Concentrations of the coins are also found in north east Oxfordshire, particularly on the border with Northamptonshire where ten coins from Evenley formed part of an even

larger collection (see below pp.112-14) and also in central Northamptonshire although the latter is clearly outside their area of primary circulation. At Duston and Evenley, coins attributed to the Catuvellauni predominate, forming 73 per cent of the recovered assemblage from Evenley, and 79 per cent of the assemblage from Duston. Both sites are near to major rivers, and may have been trading centres. While Duston is likely to be in Catuvellaunian territory, Evenley is more marginal, away from the main concentrations of Catuvellaunian coinage, lying on the extreme edge of the main area of Dobunnic coin distribution.

Hodder (1979) has suggested that markets frequently grow up on tribal borders where trading can occur outside the inner sphere of social relations. We have noted that Romano-Celtic temples are also associated with tribal boundaries. Such temples are known along the Ouse at Cosgrove, Old Stratford, Thornborough and probably at Evenley which has produced Roman material. The evidence may suggest this section of the Ouse, as well as the lower part of the Cherwell formed the boundary. The boundary perhaps running cross country from the Evenley/Mixbury (with its two hillfort type structures) area on the Ouse to the river Ray, a tributary of the Cherwell. Late Iron Age and Roman votive deposits have been recognised near the confluence of the later two rivers at Wendelbury, Woodeaton and Islip emphasising the importance of the area.

We could see a boundary line following the Thames southwards to Abingdon, along the river Ock, which is overlooked by the Iron Age and Roman sanctuaries at Frilford, and continuing in the direction of the Ridgeway and Uffington.

A number of arguments can be put forward to explain the penetration of Dobunnic coins as far as Duston or even Cambridgeshire. The Dobunnic coins are of a similar weight and module to Catuvellaunian silver so can argument can be made to suggest that if a coin of a neighbouring tribe was available it might circulate outside its intended official area of use. A modern example would be French copper coins of Napoleon III which circulated as pennies and half pennies in Victorian Britain before being prohibited by Parliament in 1887 (Boon 1973, class 78-79). Alternatively inter-tribal agreements at certain times may have allowed for an official use of another tribe's coins.

Most of the Dobunnic coins found beyond Oxfordshire are late issues. We must not forget the possibility that Iron Age coins were moved around by the Roman army after the invasion. Wigg (1996, 1997) has shown in his study of northern Gaul that the Roman army used other available currencies to supplement their own official issues. Or soldiers may have simply carried them as curiosities which may account for stray finds such as the Tasciovanus coin from South Shields (C. Haselgrove pers. comm.). Both Evenley and Duston where important early Roman centres, as indicated by the quantity of early Roman coins from the sites, while the four coins from the area of Daventry, also in Northamptonshire, are likely to be associated with the Roman town at Bannaventa, long thought to have been a fort site.

In their examination of the drop off of Dobunnic coins from the Dobunnic centre at Bagendon along a transect to Verlamion, Hodder and Orton (1976, 197-7) observed a gradual decay with distance rather than a sudden drop off, where a possibly boundary was crossed. This may be a problem caused by uneven recovery along the transect, by blurring caused by a changing boundary, or by the coins having value on both sides of the boundary, although as we noted above this an effect caused by coin movement following the Roman invasion.

Van Arsdell (Van Arsdell and de Jersey 1994, 14 and 26-27) would see the spread of the coins outside their primary area of circulation in purely economic terms. He suggests coins travelled down exchange networks and culminating in trading centres which he terms 'gateways'.

As we noted with the distribution of British L staters (pp.68ff) the apparent unity of a cultural area as identified from gross distribution maps may mask a more complex reality. An example of this was recognised amongst the Dobunni. Allen (1961) noticed that the distributions of the coins inscribed in the names of Bodvoc and Corio were virtually mutually exclusive. At present we do not know if the two issuers were contemporary or even if Bodvoc comes early or late in the sequence; Cowell (1992, 228) from analysis of the gold coinage puts them early in the inscribed sequence whereas other authors (e.g.

Allen 1961) put them late in the series on stylistic grounds. What is generally agreed however is that the two types are, more or less, contemporary.

Allen (1961) and Sellwood (1984, 192-3 and fig. 13.2) observed that issues of Corio lie to the north and south of those of Bodvoc. As part of the present research two coins inscribed in the name of Corio (VA1035) and six in the name of Bodvoc (VA1052 and VA1057) have been recorded as having been found within the study area. Uninscribed issues Van Arsdell (1989) has ascribed to Corio (VA1042, VA1045 and VA1059) have not been included because such an ascription is far from certain. The two issues of Corio are from Witney and Ducklington, both in west Oxfordshire, while those of Bodvoc are more dispersed being found not only in west Oxfordshire (at Witney, Standlake and Asthall) but also at Evenley (Northamptonshire/Oxfordshire border), Thame (east Oxfordshire) and at Wallingford (south-east Oxfordshire). As issues of Bodvoc predominate to the east and north-east of the Thames we could suggest he controlled territory to the north and north-east of Corio, namely north and east Oxfordshire and, from the find spots plotted by Sellwood (1984, 193 fig. 13.2), also in Warwickshire.

7.1.10 Distribution of coins attributed to the Corieltauvi.

Coins belonging to north-eastern series, ascribed to the Corieltauvi (Allen 1960a, Haselgrove 1987, 264-6) (fig.13), are clearly concentrated in the north of Northamptonshire and the adjoining part of north Cambridgeshire, particularly in the Soke of Peterborough.

However, it is also noticeable that the find spots are spread very widely across the study area. The issues are gold staters, plated staters, and silver units or their fractions. Of the sixteen silver coins (from fourteen find spots) recovered from the study area, only six coins from six find spots are from outside the concentration described above. On the other hand all but two of the coins from Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire are gold or plated staters. At present it is not certain if the plated staters are official token issues or unofficial deceptive forgeries (May 1994, 11), although the latter may presuppose a purely economic reason for coin production, which is a view not adhered to here.

The area of concentration in north Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough forms the southern edge of the area of primary circulation of the coins which predominates in the East Midlands and in Lindsey in particular (May 1994). Silver only moves outside the area of concentration to a limited extent but the gold issues have a much wider area of secondary circulation. It may be that gold coins were seen as a form of primitive value because of their metallic content, or appearance, and also for being of similar module to the staters of neighbouring tribes.

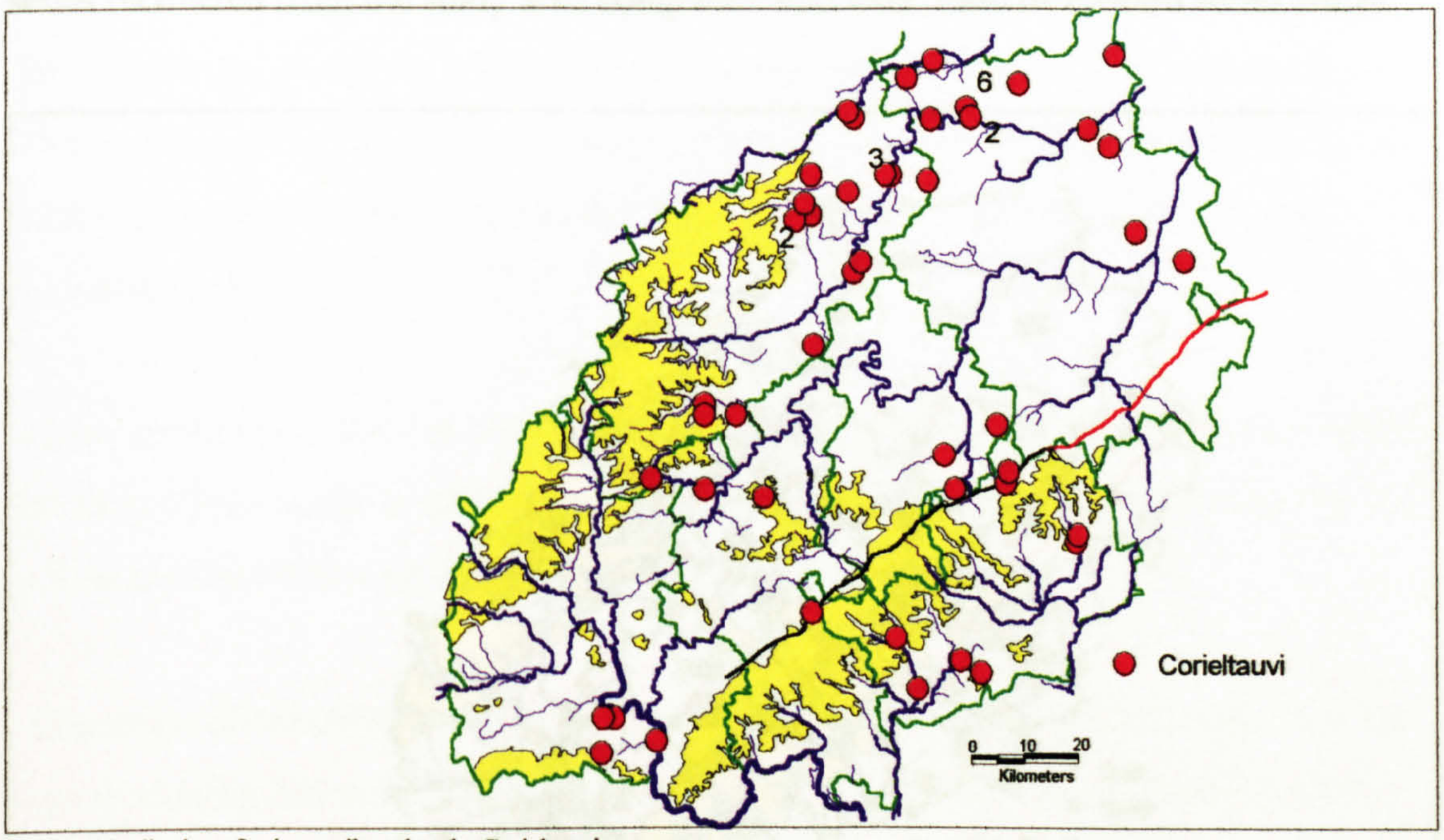


Fig.13: Distribution of coins attributed to the Corieltauvi.

Analysing the area of concentration it may be possible to suggest a boundary running along the river Nene southwards perhaps as far as the River Ise in north Northamptonshire and along this water coarse towards the river Welland (Curteis 1996a, 22). There is also other archaeological and numismatic supporting evidence for a boundary here (see below pp.112-14).

Further evidence of a tribal boundary in the area may be provided by the presence of Romano-Celtic temples and shrines of uncertain ancestry nearby at Brigstock, where a Corieltauvian coin was found within the temple building (Greenfield 1963), Collyweston (Knocker 1966), Titchmarsh (Northants. SMR) and Stanwick villa (R. Perrin pers. comm.) where two Corieltauvian coins have been recorded from the excavations.

7.1.11 Distribution of coins attributed to the Catuvellauni.

The coinage that forms the basis of Haselgrove's (1987, 53) Eastern series has been traditionally linked to the Catuvellauni. The series also includes the issues of Cunobelin and hence the Eastern series also represents the culmination of Haselgrove's South-Eastern series with which the issues of Cunobelin also have a typological affinity. By the Conquest the coins of the Eastern series had achieved a circulation which encompassed that of the earlier South-Eastern issues. There have been 330 coins of the South-Eastern series recovered from the study area compared with over 1600 of Eastern series issues.

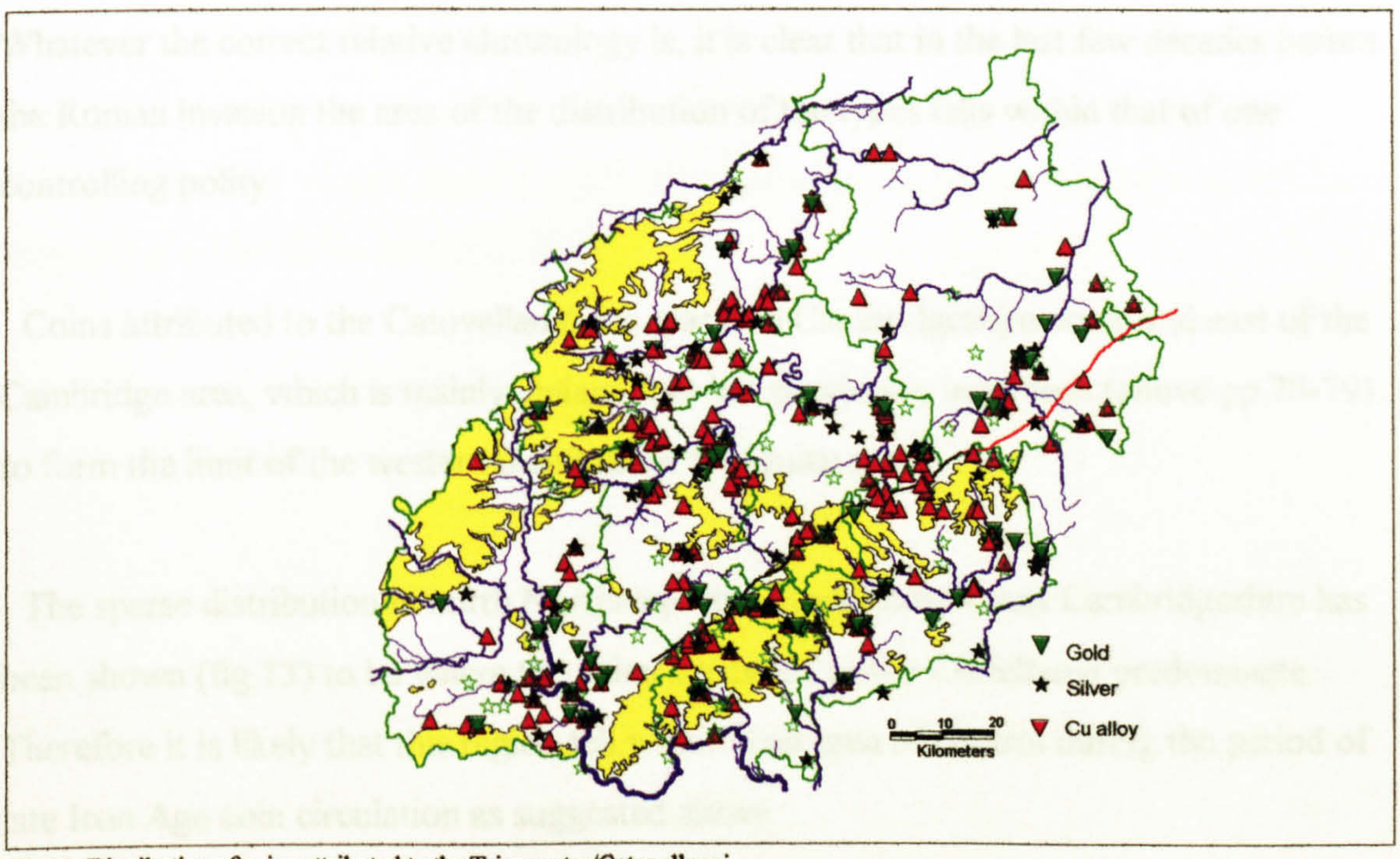


Fig.14: Distribution of coins attributed to the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni.

A plot of the coins of the Eastern series shows the issues to be very widely dispersed across much of the study area. Examination of their disposition by metallic content shows a similar picture for bronze, silver and gold. Although there appears to be a high incidence of gold issues along the periphery of the main concentrations most notably in east Cambridgeshire and central Oxfordshire.

North Cambridgeshire, north and west Oxfordshire and north Northamptonshire apart from a scatter of precious metal issues, would appear to lie outside the main distribution area.

The distribution, mostly comprising coins of Tasciovanus through to Cunobelin (which together account for over 80% of the Eastern issues from the study area), encompasses the area of distribution of the Lx series examined above (figs.8 and 9) and those issues inscribed in the name of Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunus (fig.10). The Lx issues examined in the distribution analysis, with the exception of Lx8, and the issues of Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunus, form part of Haselgroves's South-Eastern series and are often ascribed to the Trinovantes. Although many of the Lx types are thought to predate those of Tasciovanus, it is uncertain if those of Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunus predate or coincide with the earlier part of the reign of Tasciovanus. Whatever the correct relative chronology is, it is clear that in the last few decades before the Roman invasion the area of the distribution of the types falls within that of one controlling polity.

Coins attributed to the Catuvellauni are sparse in Cambridgeshire north and east of the Cambridge area, which is mainly fenland, but has previously been seen (above pp.78-79) to form the limit of the western distribution of Icenian coins.

The sparse distribution in north Northamptonshire and north-west Cambridgeshire has been shown (fig.13) to be where the coins attributed to the Corieltauvi predominate. Therefore it is likely that this region fell within their area of control during the period of late Iron Age coin circulation as suggested above.

The final area in which coins of the Catuvellauni are rare is in Oxfordshire to the west of the river Cherwell and north of the Thames. This in an area in which coins of the Dobunni are relatively common and may therefore fall within Dobunnic territory. South of the Thames there is a mixing of both Dobunnic and Catuvellaunian types. Possible reasons for this are uncertain. It may be that the vale of the White Horse, the Ridgeway and Uffington Castle, with its well known chalk figure of a horse, formed an important area of religious significance consequently acting as a magnet for a wide variety of coinage. Alternatively the boundary here may have not been emphasised in a cultural sense, perhaps by contemporary cultural mixing, or blurred by a sequence of boundary movement.

7.1.12 The coinage of Tasciovanus and its relative chronology.

Tasciovanus is totally unrecorded in history and is known to us only through his numerous inscribed coins minted in gold, silver, copper and copper alloy. Many of the coins also bear the mint signature for Verlamion (VER (VA1699, 1750, 1816), VERO (VA1690) or VERL (VA1796)). Van Arsdell (1989) has also ascribed a number of anonymous issues with Verlamion legends to Tasciovanus on stylistic grounds.

One of the staters (VA1684) which resembles the coins thought to come stylistically early in the series also bears the CAM monogram of Camoludunum leading many authors (e.g. Allen 1944, 15) to suggest that in the early part of his reign Tasciovanus held Camulodunum for a short time before being expelled by Addedomaros; there is no other supporting evidence for this hypothesis.

Tasciovanus is thought to have ruled during the mid to late 1st century BC on the grounds of the stylistic similarities to the British L series (Hobbs 1996, 21).

Some staters, depicting a warrior on horseback, bear the inscription RICON or RICONI which has been interpreted either as a mint name or as the Celtic form of the Latin 'Rex'.

The overall distribution of the coinage of Tasciovanus (fig.15) can be seen to cover much of the study area with the exception of north Northamptonshire, most of Cambridgeshire and west Oxfordshire. These areas have been shown to fall within the spheres of control of separate polities. The area of distribution is similar to that of the combined issues inscribed in the names of Addedomaros and Dubnovellaunus (fig.10), perhaps indicating that these two areas had now been brought together. The area of distribution also closely resembles that of Lx22 (fig.9) and could point to the issuing authority.

There have been various attempts to sort the coinages of Tasciovanus into issue periods based on the assumption that, as he produced a large variety of types, his reign was long

and furthermore that the various bronze and silver issues were not issued one after another but in phased groupings. The breaking down of the series into phased groups is not easy. Attempts have been made on stylistic grounds placing Romanised types late in the series (e.g. Allen 1944, Van Arsdell 1989, Hobbs 1996, Kretz 2001), on typological grounds mainly involving legends (e.g. Allen 1968, Fitzpatrick 1985), or most recently on metallurgical grounds (Haselgrove 1993, Clogg and Haselgrove 1995).

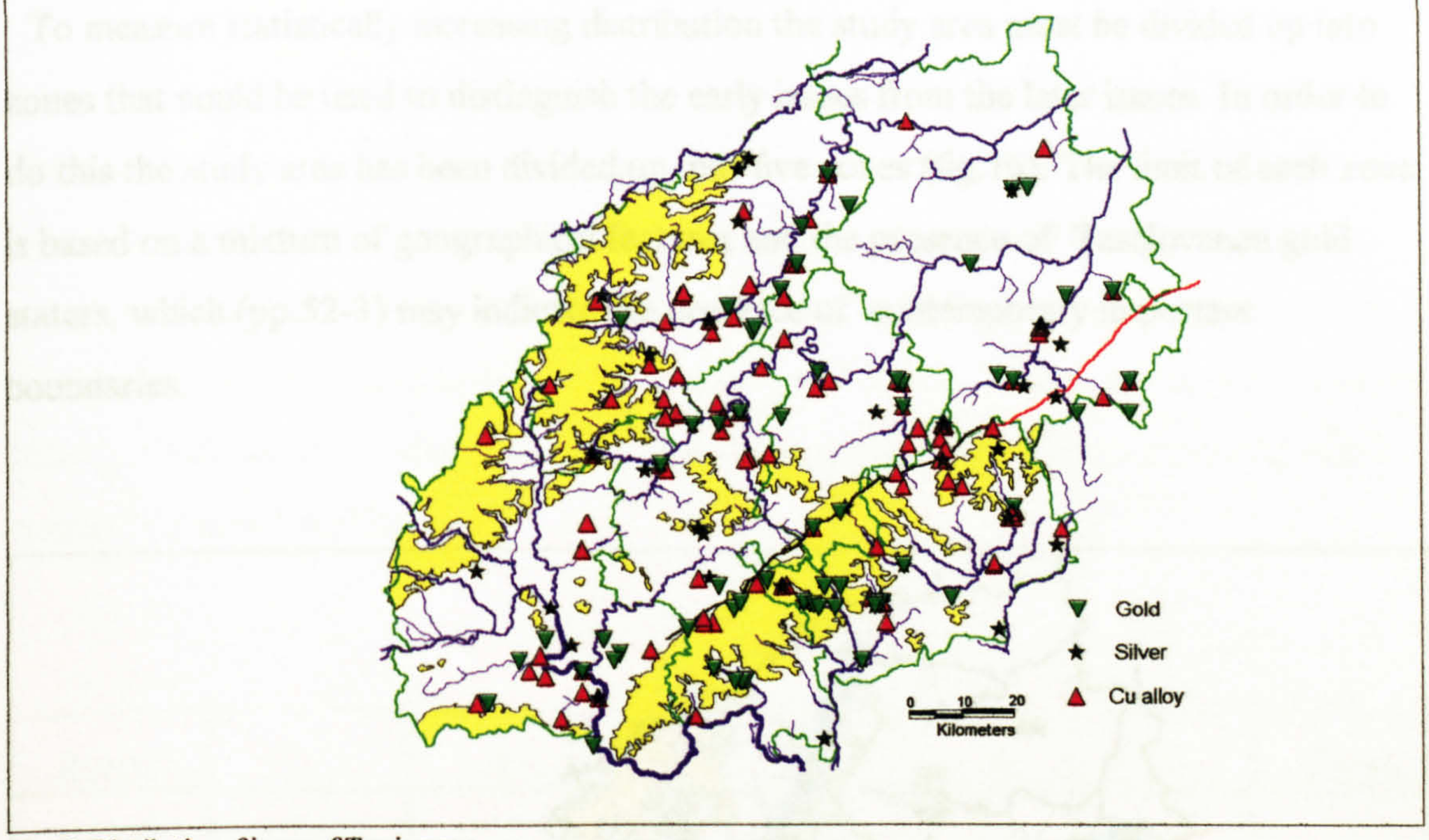


Fig.15: Distribution of issues of Tasciovanus.

We have suggested at various stages above, while examining the distributions of other coin series, that the geographical spread of certain issues can be seen to change as the series progresses. If we assume Tasciovanus did reign for a number of years, as demonstrated by the large coin output in his name, then it may be possible to demonstrate a relative chronology for the elements of the series by the extent of their geographical distribution.

It may also be possible to assume that during his reign Tasciovanus consolidated and advanced his authority. The RICON staters are generally thought to be late in the series (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989, Kretz 2000), but are unusually fine leading Cowell (1992, 226) to suggest they were a special issue or a reform of the stater. Cunobelin, a ruler who termed himself 'rex' and produced a vast and typological diverse coinage which

emphasises his power, is unlikely to have claimed descent (e.g. TASC F on VA2053-1) from Tasciovanus if the latter finished his reign in decline.

Consequently it may be possible to infer coins issued early in the reign of Tasciovanus should have a smaller distribution than later issues if his sphere of influence increased during his reign.

To measure statistically increasing distribution the study area must be divided up into zones that could be used to distinguish the early issues from the later issues. In order to do this the study area has been divided up into five zones (fig.16). The limit of each zone is based on a mixture of geographical features and the presence of Tasciovanan gold staters, which (pp.52-3) may indicate the presence of contemporary important boundaries.

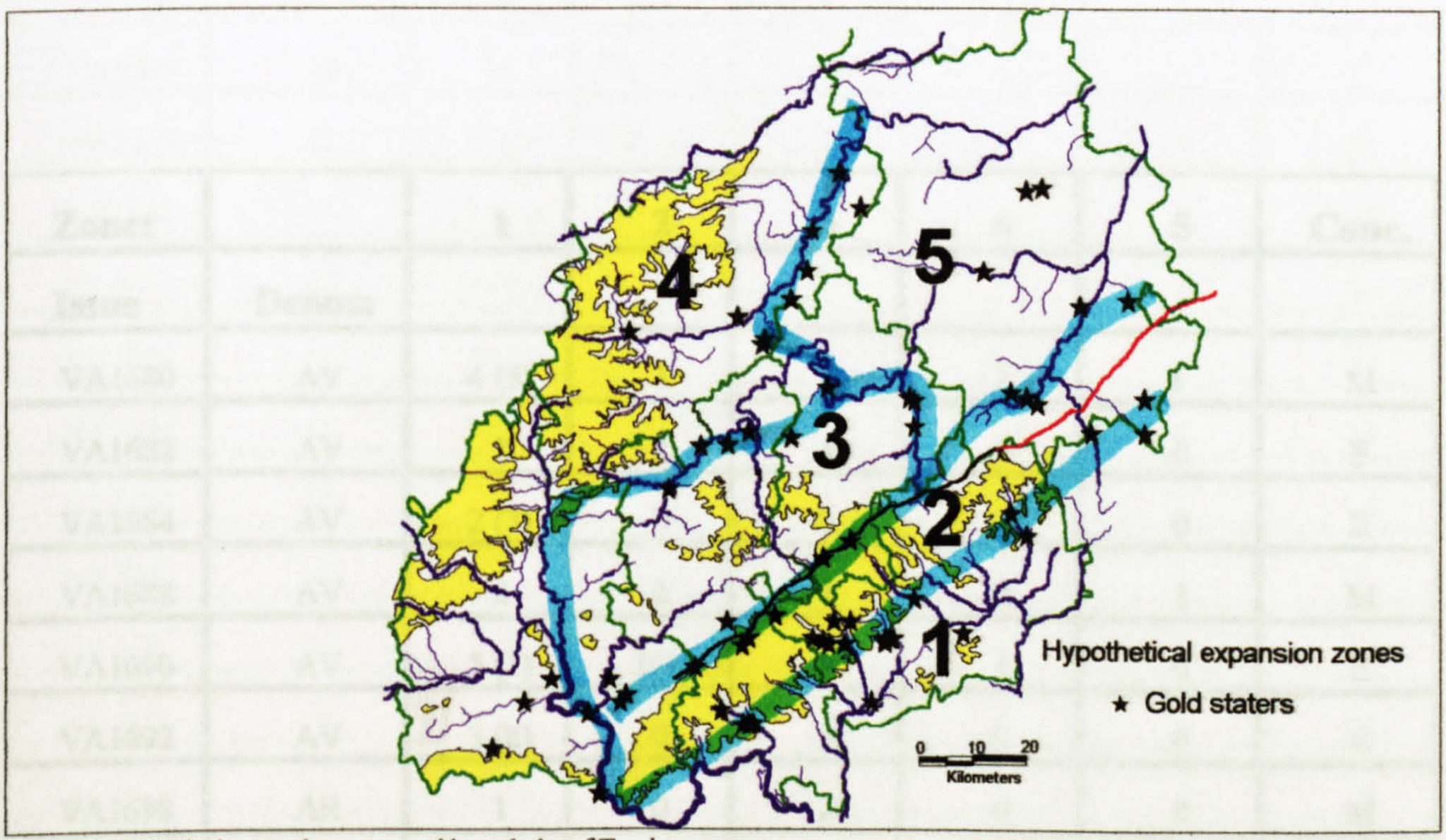


Fig.16: Hypothetical expansion zones and boundaries of Tasciovanus.

It is interesting to note that the important settlement at Verlamion falls on a proposed boundary (between zones 1 and 2), not at the centre of a zone. The significance of this and the stress it places on such sites as being primarily of ritual significance rather than as political/administration centres located in the core of their zone of influence is developed below (Chapter 8).

Because some issues of Addedomaros are typologically very similar to some of Tasciovanus, and issues of the former are rarely found to the north of the Icknield Way, it has been assumed that the early core of the territory controlled by Tasciovanus was somewhere to the south of this line. It would be dangerous to infer that as some of the coins of Tasciovanus bear the name Verlamion that the site was central in the primary core of his sphere of influence since it can be shown (p.115) to be a relatively late foundation.

The resulting zonal counts of find spots for each issue, where the find spot is greater than one, is shown in the following table. Total coin counts for each zone are in brackets. For each issue a conclusion is reached (abbreviated to conc. in the table) as to whether or not the issue has an early (E), medium (M) or late (L) bias. Issues are taken to have a medium bias where find spot counts for zones 2, 3 and 4 are greater or equal to those for zone 1, while issues are allocated a late bias where zones 4 and 5 have greater or equal counts to zones 1 and 2.

Zone:		1	2	3	4	5	Conc.
Issue	Denom						
VA1680	AV	4 (5)	1	2	2	1	M
VA1682	AV	2	1	1	0	0	E
VA1684	AV	2 (3)	0	0	0	0	E
VA1688	AV	2	2	1	0	1	M
VA1690	AV	5 (1)	1(4)	0	1	0	E
VA1692	AV	3 (8)	0	0	0	0	E
VA1698	AR	1	0	2	0	0	M
VA1699	AR	1 (2)	0	0	0	0	E
VA1705	AE	3 (4)	2	3	0	8	L
VA1707	AE	6 (11)	2 (3)	2	1	7(8)	L
VA1709	AE	3	1	2	0	0	E
VA1711	AE	3 (4)	3(6)	2	2 (3)	0	M

VA1713	AE	3 (5)	5 (7)	8	0	2	M
VA1715	AE	3 (7)	2 (3)	0	1	1	M
VA1730	AV	4 (5)	0	0	0	0	E
VA1732	AV	5 (9)	1	1	0	0	E
VA1734	AV	1	2	0	0	0	M
VA1745	AR	1	3	4	0	1	M
VA1747	AR	2	1	1	0	1	M
VA1750	AE	3 (5)	5 (6)	0	1	3	M
VA1780	AV	5 (8)	3 (4)	2	4	4	L
VA1786	AV	4 (6)	2	2	3 (4)	0	M
VA1790	AR	0	1	2	0	0	M
VA1792	AR	1	3	0	0	0	M
VA1794	AR	0	1	0	0	1	L
VA1796	AR	5 (6)	0	0	0	0	E
VA1798	AR	4	1	0	0	0	E
VA1800	AR	6	0	3	3	3	L
VA1808	AE	5 (22)	4 (6)	8	1	2	M
VA1810	AE	4 (10)	1	2	2	3	L
VA1812	AE	5 (10)	1	0	1	0	E
VA1814	AE	2 (3)	2	3	0	0	M
VA1816	AE	4 (15)	3 (2)	5(6)	1	1	M
VA1818	AE	0	3 (4)	1	1	1	M
VA1820	AE	1	4 (7)	0	2	3	L
VA1822	AE	2 (4)	1	1	0	2	M
VA1824	AE	1	0	0	1	0	M
VA1826	AE	4 (5)	0	1	1	0	E

Table 8: Number of find spots per issue in each hypothetical chronological zone and possible phasing of issue. The total number of finds is shown in parentheses.

Where a find spot is located on a zone boundary it is assigned to the zone on whose boundary it falls, i.e. the earlier zone. A full listing of the coins of Tasciovanus found within the study area is located in Appendix B.

It is important to note that the number of zones and their relative chronology is hypothetical and the reader is referred to the *caveats* detailed above in Chapter 6, especially when considering the low number of recorded finds for many issues. Furthermore, the model presumes that chronology is the primary explanation for the distribution of the issues when the real situation may be rather more complex, perhaps with certain issues being issued for circulation in parts of the territory rather than the whole.

The results can be compared with the typological/stylistic sequence expounded by Van Arsdell (1989) which was reproduced in the sequence of the above table. The cumulative result for each issue drawn from the above table is in parentheses.

	Early distribution	Medium distribution	Late distribution
Van Arsdell 1st series	43% (6)	43% (6)	14% (2)
Van Arsdell 2nd series	33% (2)	67% (4)	0% (0)
Van Arsdell 3rd series	22% (4)	50% (9)	33% (6)

Table 9: Cumulative results by zonal phasing compared with the series sequence of Van Arsdell (1989)

The results can also be compared with the metrology of the base metal issues (Haselgrove 1993, Clogg and Haselgrove 1995).

	Early distribution	Middle distribution	Late distribution
Copper: VA1711		✓	
VA1705			✓
VA1808		✓	
VA1715		✓	
Totals	0%	75%	25%
Bronze: VA1707			✓
VA1810			✓
VA1713		✓	
VA1820			✓

VA1822		✓	
Totals	0%	40%	60%
Brass: VA1812	✓		
VA1814		✓	
VA1816		✓	
VA1826	✓		
Totals	50%	50%	0%

Table 10: Results of zonal phasing by metrology

The results tabulated above (table 10) would appear to suggest that brass issues were early followed by copper and bronze. Clogg and Haselgrove (1995, 55) infer brass issues came late in the series citing Romanized portraits, and pointing out brass was unknown in Iron Age Britain before the Augustan period, in support of their argument. Yet Roman coins bearing portraits and brass in the form of brooches were available from early in his reign. Roman coins made of brass, an alternative source of alloy to brooches, had been available since an issue of Caesar's *praefectus* C. Clovius in Cisalpine Gaul (Sutherland 1984, 3; RRC 476) and commonly available following the Augustan reformation of the Roman monetary system in 24 BC (Casey 1984, 8). Consequently brass, almost certainly, would have been available for coining at the time Tasciovanus is generally believed to have come to power around 30 BC (Haselgrove 1993, 35).

The results most closely resemble the three phased coinage for Tasciovanus proposed by Van Arsdell (1989). The staters he allocated to his first series (considered to be a direct development of the Middle Whaddon Chase type (VA1493)), mostly fall within the early distribution with the exception of VA1680 which, although having an intermediate distribution, is clearly concentrated in Zone 1. The Ricon staters show the latest distribution also parallelling conclusions drawn from stylistic studies (e.g. Van Arsdell 1989, Kretz 2000).

Assuming the typology/stylistic ordering is considered to be broadly correct then the picture is more complex than can be simply explained by basic typology/stylistic evolution. Several issues such as VA1707, which is considered by Van Arsdell to be an

early issue, has a very broad distribution; yet the obverse is a clearly a more Romanized portrait as is the reverse which (Van Arsdell suggests) is copied from a Republican *denarius,* and therefore would appear to fit the distribution/expansion hypothesis better than its placing in the Van Arsdell sequence. On the other hand Van Arsdell places VA1796 in his third (late) series although the distribution of the issue is solely tied to our zone 1; this type although displaying a boar does not possess a 'Romanized' portrait perhaps providing a typological reason why the coin might be earlier than Van Arsdell believed.

Another interpretation of the observed results may be that VA1707 had a much broader circulation and was acceptable outside the area of its issuers direct control, while in the case of VA1796 we may be seeing a late issue but one which only circulated over a part of Tasciovanus' territory.

If brass was available in sufficient quantities for coining early in the reign of Tasciovanus (c.30-20 BC) the only other definitive way of proving or disproving the distribution/expansion hypothesis is to look at coins which have been influenced by Roman coin design and hence must post date the Roman original. The key issues in this are VA1794, VA1814 and VA1818 which, as they are considered (Van Arsdell 1989) to have been adapted from Augustan *denarii*, are unlikely to be early in the series. The distribution of these three issues shows that they all have extended distributions ranging far to the north of the Icknield belt; indicating that they are not early in the series. The distribution/expansion hypothesis would therefore appear to be supported by this test.

There is one issue, VA1698, which stands out in the distribution and is worthy of further comment. This issue would appear typologically to be an early issue of Tasciovanus being similar to coins thought to predate Tasciovanus (e.g. Lx22), but it is found in both zones 1 and 3. The coin is, however, uninscribed and it may be, that not only does it resemble Lx22, but also that it shared the same issuing authority as Lx22 and is not an issue of Tasciovanus. Consequently this issue may indicate that it is only possible to divide the issues of Tasciovanus into early or late phases, the internal political

division of the territory being too complex to subdivide yet further, or that we should look at an alternative issuer for the production of VA1698.

It may be that the distribution/expansion hypothesis is correct but the territorial divisions are incorrectly placed. Future finds will enable such hypothetical zones of expansion to be developed and more closely located. The data available at present does show that the various issues in the name of Tasciovanus can be seen to have differential geographical distributions and that this is likely to, in part, be chronological function and that the series appears too complex to be explained by either distribution, typology/style or metrology in isolation.

7.1.13 The coinages of Andoco, Dias and Rues: their relative chronology and relationship to the issues of Tasciovanus.

Andoco (whose name is likely to be an abbreviated form of, perhaps, Andocommius, Andocos or Andocoveros), Dias and Rues (Ruis or Ruiis) are only known through their coins and are otherwise unrecorded in history. Issues in gold, silver and base metal are known for Andoco, silver and base metal for Dias and base metal only for Rues.

Allen (1967, 4) noted the general resemblance of the coins of Rues to those of Tasciovanus, and also of Dias, and concluded they must belong to the same phase of the coinage. Although an attempt has been made (Van Arsdell 1989) to place these rulers, assuming that the inscriptions refer to personal names, in a single chronological sequence, it is has been suggested (de Jersey 1996,35; Curteis 1997, 22) that they may have been associates or subordinates of Tasciovanus, perhaps occupying small areas or *pagi* within the territory under his control. Cunliffe (1981, 36) following Rodwell (1976, 249-61) has suggested they represent successive partners ruling with Tasciovanus. He would see these issues representing the first steps in the creation of an oligarchy and with it an archaic state, as has been proposed for central Gaul, where senates and magistrates possibly replaced kings (Nash 1976, 125-9).

Another hint of a situation where Tasciovanus acted as an overlord is provided by an inscription on some gold issues which have been shown above to be late in the series. The legend RICON or RICONI (or RIGONI) occurs on issues depicting a mounted warrior on the reverse. A similar iconography appears on other issues of Tasciovanus that bear the mint name for Verlamion; yet the two have dissimilar styles suggesting a different mint (Allen 1944, 17); leading Wheeler (1928) to suggest the inscription equated to an unknown town called Riconium. Allen (1944, 17) has given the most universally accepted view that Riconi or Rigoni is a Celtic form of the Latin Rex, emphasising Tasciovanus' position as the head of the tribe.

One of the coins of Rues has the mint-mark of Verlamion (VIR; VA1892). No Rues inscription has, as yet, been found linking his name with Tasciovanus (Mays 1992b, 79).

One inscription on the coins of Andoco links him with Tasciovanus (VA1873), although it is not known if this is a reference to Andoco as a son or some other form of association (Allen 1967, 3-4).

The name Dias appears with the Verlamion mint-mark (VIR and VER; VA1877, VA1882), in one instance it is linked with Tasciovanus (VA1882) and on another with CO (VA1877). It is uncertain what CO means (Mays 1992b, 74).

Clogg and Haselgrove (1995, 55) concluded, from their metrological study of the coinage of the Tasciovanus group that the issues of Andoco, Rues and Dias all came late in the group since none of the issues were struck in pure copper thought to have been used for the early issues of Tasciovanus only. The distribution/expansion hypothesis for the analysis for the coinage of Tasciovanus described above, if correct, would appear to suggest the contrary with brass issues perhaps appearing early in his reign; and it follows that Andoco and Dias, who have been found to have issued, at least, some of their issues in brass (VA1871, VA1882; Clogg and Haselgrove 1995, 57), could have appeared earlier in the sequence than suggested by Clogg and Haselgrove.

The distribution analysis indicated a later tendency in the Tasciovanus series for bronze and at least one issue of Rues (VA1892) has been found to be composed of this metal (Clogg and Haselgrove 1995, 57) suggesting that Rues came to power in a later part of the reign of Tasciovanus than Dias or Andoco.

The distribution of coins with legends linking them to Dias, Andoco, Rues and also the Ricon legend is shown in figs.17 and 18. The issues of Rues appear superficially to be spread over much the same area as are those of Tasciovanus (fig.15), yet the issues of Rues are almost completely absent from Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Oxfordshire. The issues are highly concentrated in north Hertfordshire and east Bedfordshire, particularly in the area of Sandy and Braughing. The concentration of ten finds at Sandy, comprising 14% of all issues of Rues from the study area, is particularly significant. The other major concentration of twelve examples from St Albans has been artificially increased by the inclusion of a hoard of ten coins from a grave in the King Harry Lane cemetery (Goodburn 1989, 87).

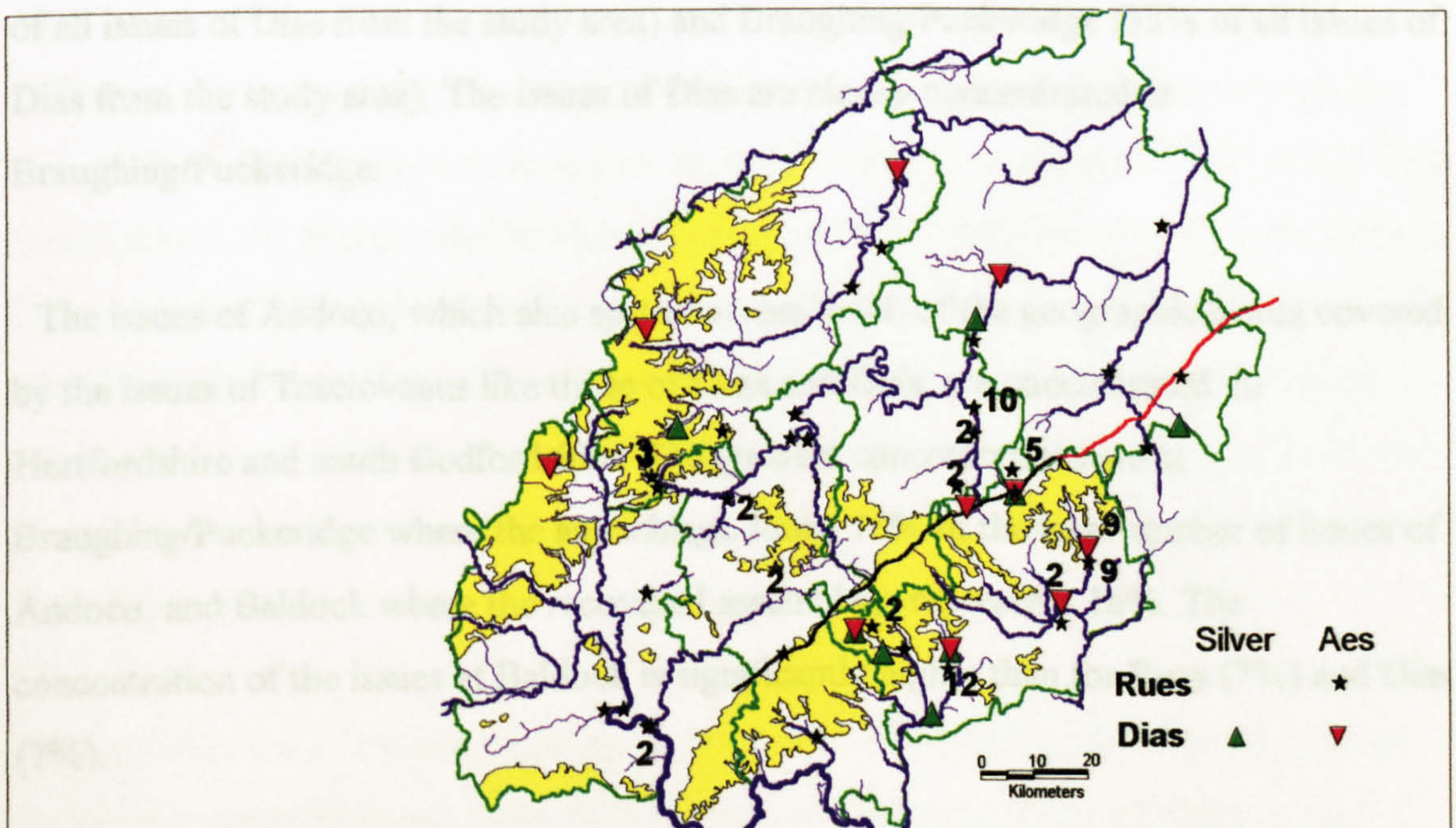


Fig.17: Distribution of issues of Rues and Dias.

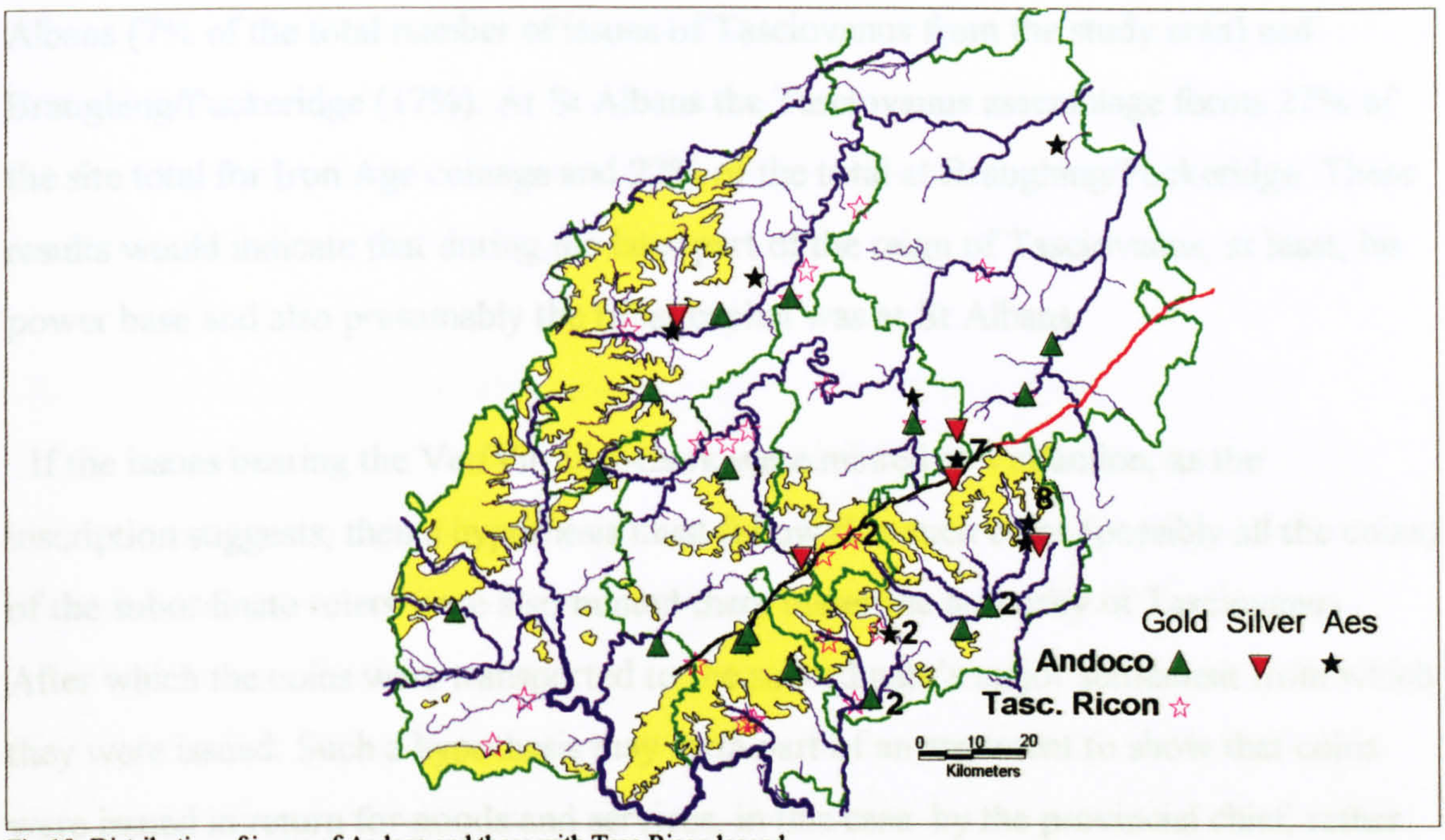


Fig.18: Distribution of issues of Andoco and those with Tasc Ricon legend.

The rarer issues of Dias are also diffused throughout much of the study area where issues of Tasciovanus predominate. However, the only multiple find spots are Ware (7% of all issues of Dias from the study area) and Braughing/Puckeridge (33% of all issues of Dias from the study area). The issues of Dias are clearly concentrated at Braughing/Puckeridge.

The issues of Andoco, which also spread across much of the geographical area covered by the issues of Tasciovanus like those of Rues and Dias, are concentrated in Hertfordshire and south Bedfordshire. The greatest concentrations are at Braughing/Puckeridge where the assemblage forms 18% of the total number of issues of Andoco, and Baldock where the recovered assemblage represents 16%. The concentration of the issues at Baldock is significantly higher than for Rues (7%) and Dias (7%).

If the hypothesis of Dias, Rues and Andoco are ruling sub-tribal areas or *pagi* under the overall authority of a greater ruler (Tasciovanus) is correct, then we would have to see Rues having his centre of authority at Sandy, Dias at Braughing/Puckeridge and Andoco at Baldock.

By the same construct the largest concentrations of the issues of Tasciovanus are at St Albans (7% of the total number of issues of Tasciovanus from the study area) and Braughing/Puckeridge (17%). At St Albans the Tasciovanus assemblage forms 27% of the site total for Iron Age coinage and 22% of the total at Braughing/Puckeridge. These results would indicate that during the later part of the reign of Tasciovanus, at least, his power base and also presumably the tribal capital was at St Albans.

If the issues bearing the Ver/Vir mint-mark were minted at Verlamion, as the inscription suggests, then a hypothesis must follow that such coins (possibly all the coins) of the subordinate rulers were also minted there under the authority of Tasciovanus. After which the coins were transported to the subordinate's major settlement from which they were issued. Such a hypothesis may form part of an argument to show that coins were issued in return for goods and services, in this case by the provincial chief, rather than having a simple financial value, when we could expect the dispersal to be more homogenous, especially in the small geographical area represented by Baldock, Sandy and Braughing.

If issues of Rues are later than Dias or Andoco as suggested above, then perhaps the distribution could be taken to show that he was actually a successor to Tasciovanus. This hypothesis could explain why his name is never linked to Tasciovanus in the same way as Dias or Andoco. We have noted that the distribution of his coins is similar too, but slightly smaller, than those of Tasciovanus suggesting a decline in the fortunes of the tribe under his rule. We could go further to suggest that such a decline may explain why he issued coins in base metal only and may indicate why Cunobelin only claims descent from Tasciovanus.

The distribution of the coins bearing the Tasc/Ricon inscription (fig.18) covers much the same geographical area as do all the coins inscribed in the name of Tasciovanus. However, unlike the issues of Rues, Dias and Andoco, the issues are found in Oxfordshire to the west of the Thames, and there are no multiple concentrations based around major sites. The three coins from High Wycombe have different provenances within the parish as do the two from the Luton area.

The results would indicate that the name Ricon(i) is indeed a title. The issues are only produced in gold not in a base metal; gold may perhaps have been seen as an appropriate medium for such a proclamation. They have wider geographical spread than any of the issues of the sub-ordinates. They can not be seen to concentrate at any particular settlement.

It is important to note that although we have concluded that each subordinate controlled a small area of territory under the overall authority of Tasciovanus (whose coinage thus has the greatest distribution of all), the coinage of each observably extends beyond each sub unit of control. Such a finding is not surprising if we consider that a tribal area is more likely to have accepted and recognised coins issued in one of its parts. This is more likely to be the case of base metal coins where any value is likely to have been conferred upon them by the state. Precious metal coins would have a wider circulation and this is demonstrated by the presence in Kent of gold staters issued by Tasciovanus. A modern comparison may be Scottish banknotes (i.e. paper money with a conferred value), which although accepted in other parts of the United Kingdom, where they are a rarer component of the currency than in Scotland, are not recognised or accepted in foreign countries.

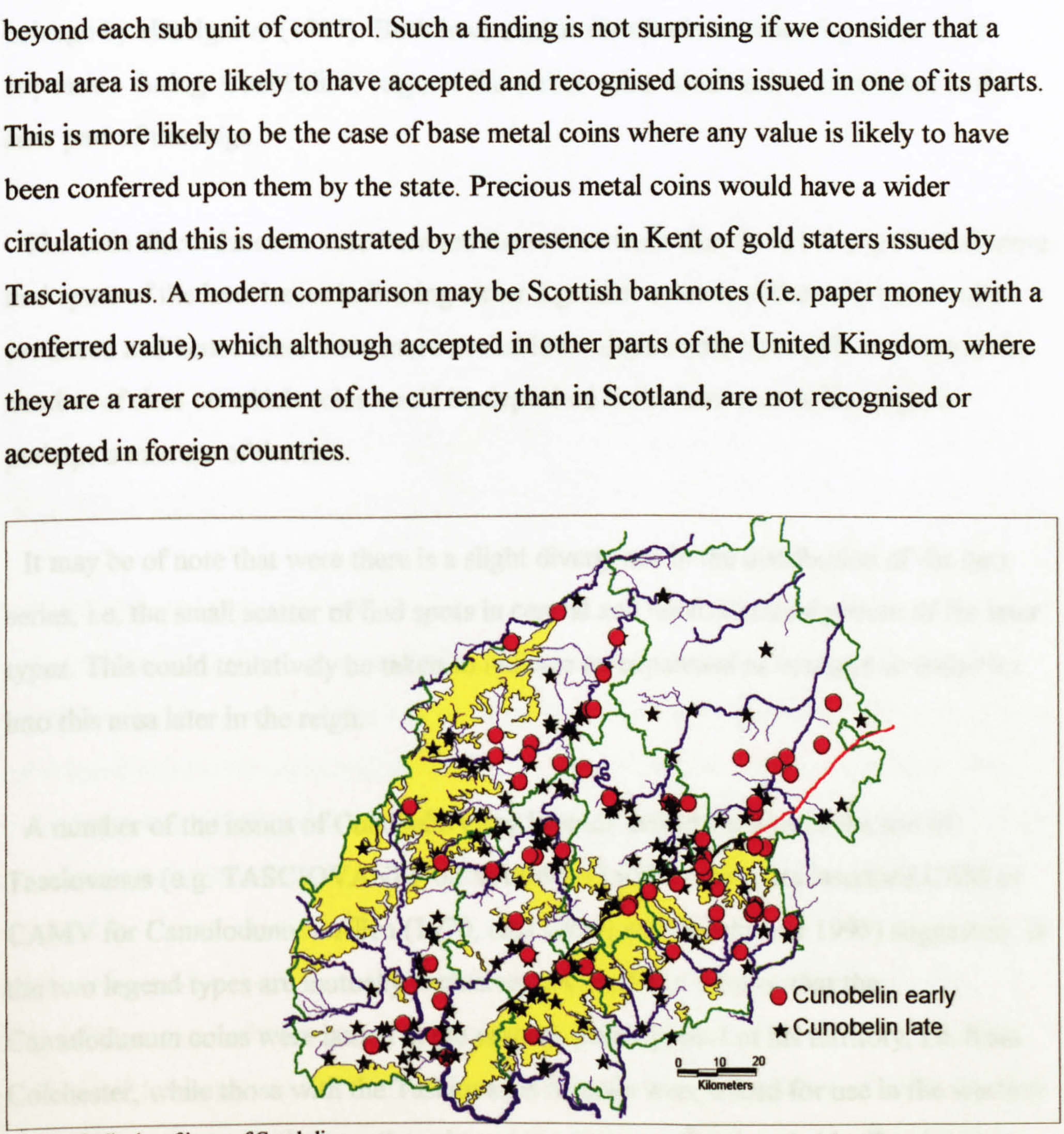


Fig.19: Distribution of issues of Cunobelin.

7.1.14 Distribution of issues of Cunobelin

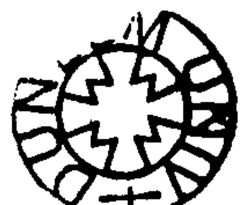
The distribution of the coins of Cunobelin is shown in fig.19. Not surprisingly the issues of Cunobelin have been recovered from numerous find spots over much of the study area with the exceptions of north Northamptonshire, north and north-east Cambridgeshire, and west Oxfordshire which have been shown to lie outside his sphere of influence.

The issues have been designated early or late following the divisions of Cunobelin's coinage by Haselgrove (1987). Both have similar distributions indicating either little expansion during Cunobelin's reign or the earlier coins continued in circulation in the later part of the reign.

The main discordance to note between the two series is that there are a great deal more find spots of the later issues indicating either a greater amount of the later coins were produced and hence there were more available for deposition, a possible increase in the number of sites on which coins could be deposited in the later part of his reign, or perhaps a mixture of the two.

It may be of note that were there is a slight divergence in the distribution of the two series, i.e. the small scatter of find spots in central and north Cambridgeshire of the later types. This could tentatively be taken to indicate an expansion of contacts or authority into this area later in the reign.

A number of the issues of Cunobelin carry legends describing him as the son of Tasciovanus (e.g. TASCIOVANI F on VA2091-1) while others are inscribed CAM or CAMV for Camulodunum. Allen (1970, also Clogg and Haselgrove 1995) suggested, as the two legend types are mutually exclusive on Cunobelin's coins, that the Camulodunum coins were issued in the eastern, primary, part of his territory, i.e. from Colchester, while those with the Tasciovanus legends were issued for use in the western part of his territory, in the area thought to have been previously ruled by Tasciovanus and to indicate Cunobelin's legitimacy to rule, i.e. from St Albans. The distribution of the find spots of the two legend types (fig.20) shows that, in general, both types circulated



widely over much of the study area. However, there are obvious differences with the Tasciovanus legends predominant in west Oxfordshire and west Northamptonshire, while the Camulodunum legends predominate in east Hertfordshire and east Cambridgeshire. The two types would, therefore appear, to have biases as predicted by Allen: Tasciovanus legends to the west and Camulodunum legends to the east, yet it is also clear that the two types were not discriminated against and were allowed to circulate together producing a mixing of types where both were available.

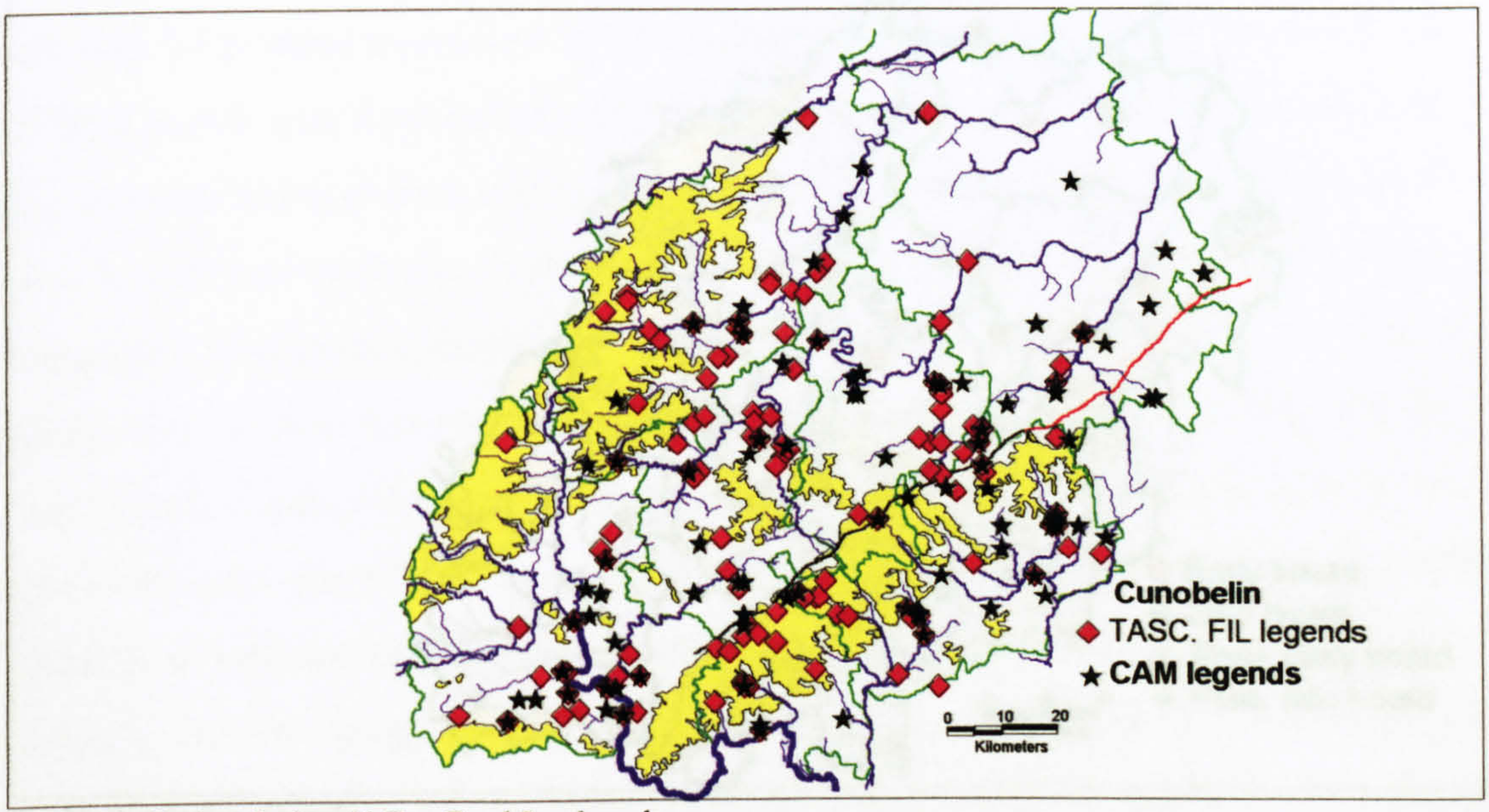


Fig.20: Distribution of coins with Tasc F and Cam legends

7.1.15 Distribution of hoards

The distribution of hoards and possible hoards is shown in fig. 21. Only hoards containing precious metal coins are included. Conventionally speaking the minimum size of a hoard is just two coins and the qualifying factor which creates a hoard is that the coins were brought together in a deliberate manner (Casey 1986, 51). This excludes from consideration associations of coins which have accumulated in archaeological strata.

Hoarding can be shown to be endemic throughout time and society. Hoards are normally categorised by the circumstances that lead to their deposition (after Casey 1986, 55-7): emergency hoards may be seen to be the deliberate hiding of coins to protect them in the face of some emergency e.g. in response to an invasion or civil unrest, savings hoards are accumulations that have been added to over a period of time,

or there are purse hoards e.g. a lost purse. One factor which is common amongst all such categories of hoard is the coins are deposited as a unit, the coins being kept together by some form of container, perhaps a leather bag, a pot, or cloth purse. However, in the case of Iron Age coins, although hoards are known where the pieces were obviously confined by some kind of container, this would appear to be the exception rather than the rule.

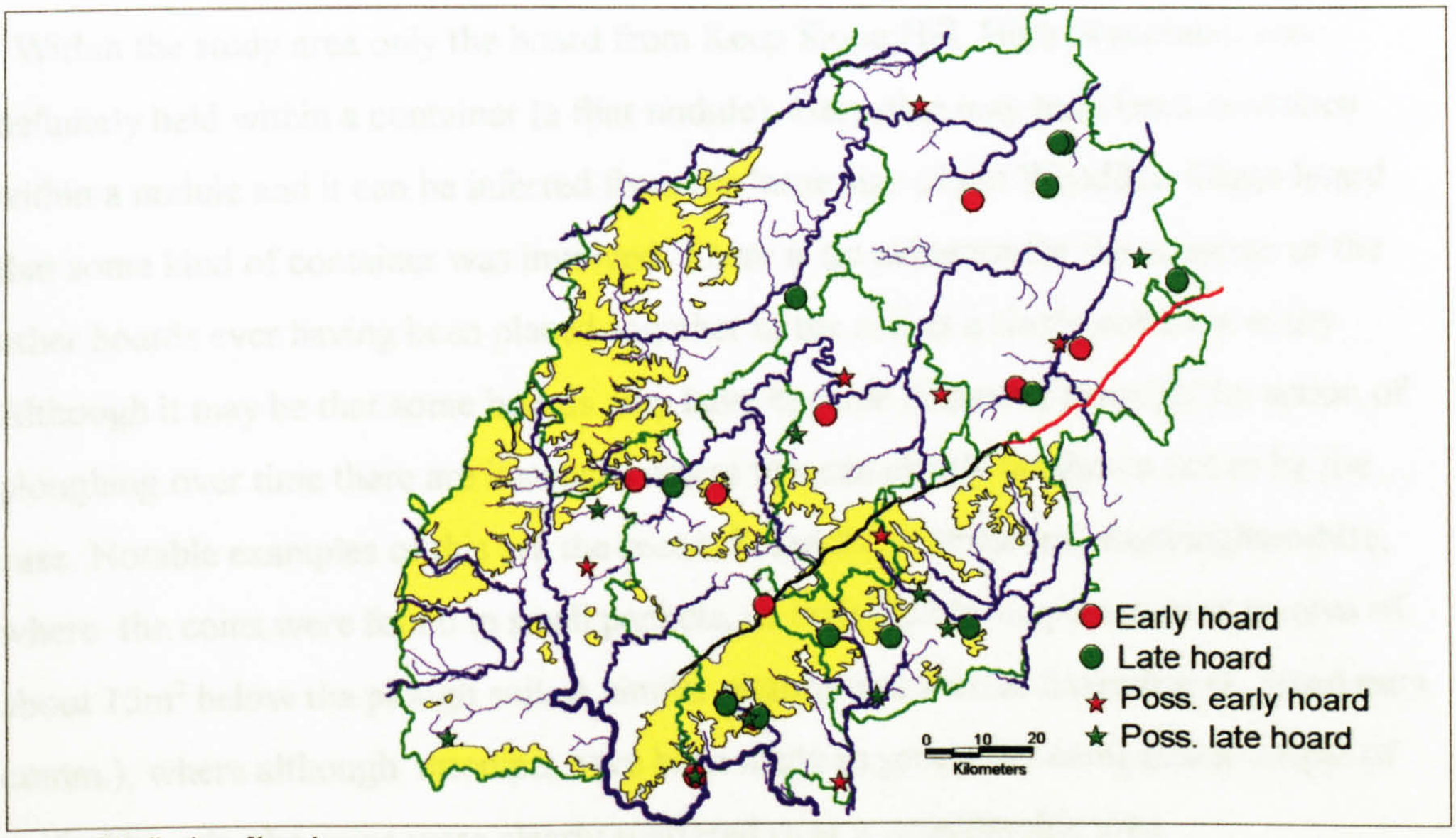


Fig. 21: Distribution of hoards.

Where hoards recovered from the study area are known to come from a container they are always of precious metal. The only certain example of a base metal hoard is of ten bronze units found in a grave at King Harry Lane, St Albans (Stead and Rigby 1989) where they are likely to have functioned as a funerary gift and not as a hoard in the conventional sense. We may infer from this negative evidence that base metal coinage was not considered to be an appropriate medium for hoarding.

Multiple finds of precious metal coins can be found to be dispersed over an area often in excess of $50m^2$. Consequently, if we were looking at a surface collection of bronze rather than of gold and silver issues it would be difficult, without detailed archaeological data, to differentiate between a hoard and a settlement scatter. Where we are dealing with societies that only used precious metal coinages, such as the Iceni and Dobunni, it is

particularly difficult to tell if 50 silver coins from a field represent a hoard or a settlement scatter, although a large number of pieces is usually taken to represent a hoard.

For example the Snettisham Iron Age coin hoard (Gregory 1992b, 50) of 91 coins, mostly gold staters, was found in topsoil in an area of 20m by 10m. Its designation as a hoard is mainly based on the lack of settlement debris.

Within the study area only the hoard from Keep Slope Hill, High Wycombe, was definitely held within a container (a flint nodule), Harpsden may have been contained within a nodule and it can be inferred from the large size of the Whaddon Chase hoard that some kind of container was involved. There is no evidence for the contents of the other hoards ever having been placed together in the soil as a single coherent entity. Although it may be that some hoards may have become dispersed through the action of ploughing over time there are instances where this can clearly be shown not to be the case. Notable examples of this are the recent hoard from Shalstone, Buckinghamshire, where the coins were found in small packets, or individually, dispersed over an area of about $15m^2$ below the plough soil. A similar picture was seen at Essendon (I. Stead pers. comm.), where although attempts have been made to group the coins into a couple of unified hoards, the coins were clearly scattered over a considerable area.

If precious metal coins were deposited individually, in small multiples, or in groups of multiples then the definition of what a hoard is would appear to be different than for hoards from other periods. We have suggested above that there is a tendency for gold coins to be deliberately deposited rather than casually lost and thus a group of several gold coins from the area of a single modern field could be taken to indicate a number of individual and distinct deliberate depositions. It is likely that there was a focus, often not know recognisable to us, which attracted this depositional activity. Evidence would suggest these foci were of a votive nature (see Chapter 8 below).

Therefore what are often termed 'hoards' of Iron Age coins may be assemblages of deposits of one or more coins. The deposits were sometimes made over a period of time

within a discrete area may then be seen to contain coins of considerable chronological disparity. For example hoards from Essendon, Harpsden, Wheathampstead and Potton.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that a number of recorded hoards are old finds. The information concerning the recovery and the contents of such hoards can be imprecise leaving us unsure as to the original composition or association of the material. For example staters of Gallo-Belgic C and of Tasciovanus from the same garden at Box Tree House, Marsh Green, High Wycombe were found before 1961 and c1950 respectively. The Buckinghamshire County SMR considers the coins to represent part of a hoard, because of their close association, even though the exact nature of the closeness cannot be determined, they were not found at the same time and there is a large chronological gap between the two. Other complications occur where the same coin is recorded from several disparate sources leading the one coin to become duplicated to form several; sometimes a coin can later be reidentified as a different type and recorded as an entirely new coin from the provenance. For example, the Bedfordshire SMR records three staters from Dunton, two Gallo-Belgic C staters and a British H stater; yet thorough research shows that there was only ever one stater from Dunton, this coin was duplicated and later reidentified as British H. Other examples are a Gallo-Belgic BB2 stater from Cholesbury hillfort which was duplicated to three coins of the same type in the SMR, and finds of a stater of the Ambiani and a British A1 stater which are likely to represent a duplication by reidentification of a single coin (British A1).

The following table terms coins which have been found, or are believed to have been found, together in very close association as certain hoards and multiples of coins considered to come from the same find location (normally the same field) as possible hoards.

Parish/Site	Metal	Contents	Comment	Status
BEDFORDSHIRE				
CLAPHAM	AV	2 GBE	Uncertain	H?
CRANFIELD	AV	2 Tasciovanus	Uncertain	H?

LUTON CANON LANE	AV	2 GBE	Uncertain	H?
POTTON	AV	3 GBE-Cunobelin	Uncertain	H?
WOOTTON	AV	GBC, GBDc	Uncertain	H?
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE				
ASTON CLINTON	AV	3 Addedomaros		H
HIGH WYCOMBE	AV	GBAB1, British A	Same field	H
HIGH WYCOMBE	AV	Ambiani, British A1	Same coin?	H?
HIGH WYCOMBE	AV	2 Tasciovanus	Uncertain	H?
HIGH WYCOMBE	AV/AR	4 GBA-Cunobelin	Same field	H
HIGH WYCOMBE	AV/AR	3 Addedomaros-Cunobelin	Same field	H
HIGH WYCOMBE, KEEP SLOPE HILL	AV	11 Tasciovanus	Prob. found in flint nodule	H
HIGH WYCOMBE, MARSH GREEN	AV	GBC, Tasciovanus	Same garden	H
IVER	AV	2 Addedomaros	Uncertain	H?
LITTLE HORWOOD, WHADDON CHASE	AV	320+ GBE-Britsh LA	Part of very large hoard	H
SHALSTONE	AV	15 British LB, 23 British QB	Treasure Trove	H
THORNBOROUGH	AV/AR	4 Tasciovanus-Cunobelin	certain, by RB temple	H
CAMBRIDGESHIRE				
BARRINGTON	AV/AR	5 British Qc-Cunobelin	Uncertain	H?
BURY	AV	6 GBE	Closely associated	H
CAMBRIDGE	AV	4 LX2-Dubnovellaunus	Uncertain	H?
CHATTERIS, LANGWOOD HILL	AV/AR	9 Tasciovanus-Cunobelin, Iceni	Closely associated	H
CHERRY HINTON	AV	4 British JB-British ND	Closely associated	H
CHIPPENHAM, KINGS FEN FIELD	AV	6 Cunobelin	Closely associated in field	H
MARCH, FIELD BAULK	AR	872 Iceni	Closely associated	H
MARCH, WEST FEN	AR	10+ Corieltauvi/Iceni	Closely associated	H
ORWELL	AV	6 GBE	Closely associated	H
PETERBOROUGH, MAYORS WALK	AV/AR	GBE, 2 South Ferriby units	Uncertain	H?
SOHAM	AV/AR	5+ Iceni/Corieltauvi	Uncertain	H?
WIMBLINGTON, STONEA	AR	100+, total unknown	Conc. around later RB build.	H
HERTFORDSHIRE				
Berkhampsted, BROADWAY FARM	AV/AR	8+ Tasc-Cuno	Closely associated	H
ESSENDON	AV	257 GBA-Cunobelin	Closely associated	H
HATFIELD	AV	poss. 70 Verica	Alleged	H?
ST ALBANS WINDRIDGE FARM	AV/AR	10 Tasciovanus-Cunobelin	From same field	H
WATFORD	AV/AR	10+ Tasciovanus-Cunobelin	Uncertain	H?
WHEATHAMPSTEAD	AV/AR	11+ GBD-Cunobelin	Uncertain	H?
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE				
RUSHDEN	AV	3 Tasciovanus	Closely associated	H
OXFORDSHIRE				
BICESTER	AV/AR	11 Dobunni-Cunobelin	Uncertain	H?
DORCHESTER OVERY FIELD	AV	3 Cunobelin	Uncertain	H?
HARPSDEN	AV	16 GBAB1-GBE	Closely associated	H

UFFINGTON WHITE HORSE HILL	AR	15+ Dobunni/Atrebates	Clustered below fort	H?
WENDLEBURY	AV	2 GBC-GBD	Uncertain	H?
WOODEATON	AV	3 British O-Addedomaros	From RB temple site	H?

Table 11: Summary of hoards (H) and possible hoards (H?) Recorded within the study area.

The table and the associated distribution map (fig.21) shows that definite hoards and closely associated multiple finds of precious metal coins appear to be distributed across much of the study area with particular concentrations in east Cambridgeshire, south Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire. Recovered hoards are all but absent from Northamptonshire and west Oxfordshire.

Early hoards are taken to be collections where the latest coins predate Tasciovanus (i.e. earlier than Haselgrove's (1987) phase 7). Chronologically the later hoards have a more northerly and north-easterly distribution than the earlier hoards. This finding would fit our earlier conclusions, from discussions considering the geographical spread of various coin types, where distributions were shown to move slowly northwards during the development of the Gallo-Belgic series.

The possible hoards of multiple finds would generally appear to fit the same pattern. There are a number of possible hoards that do not fit the pattern, but if, in some cases, the multiple finds represent only the recovered portions of deposits made within a predefined area over a period of time then some chronological blurring should be expected if the resulting assemblage is treated as a single chronological action.

Interestingly the later hoards, ignoring single gold coin finds and uncertain multiple assemblages from the same parish, form a linear pattern which can be seen to follow (in most instances) the same lines as we previously suggested for the territorial divisions under Tasciovanus. It is possible to suggest that the earlier hoards may fall around earlier boundaries. Of course there are exceptions but here the hoards may be acting as important symbolic markers for other purposes since it is unlikely that all important religious foci coincided with tribal boundaries.

7.2 Site specific analysis

Site specific analysis of Iron Age coinage is still at a very early stage. Unlike Roman coins, where a tight chronology exists, allowing annual coin loss histograms to be produced from which a site's chronology may be interpreted (e.g. Casey 1974; Curteis 1996b), we have shown in a preceding chapter that the dating of Iron Age coins is rather imprecise. Although some coins are tied to named individuals and a classical chronology, we do not know how long the individual reigned or in what part of the reign the coin was produced. Other coins are dated on a relative and/or a stylistic chronology, the latter often on unsure ground. Haselgrove (e.g. 1993, 53-57) has tried to resolve this problem and it is his methodology and phasing that is developed below. The warning that we are, in general, dealing with unstratified finds must be reiterated. These factors make any analysis difficult.

Bar graphs can be constructed using Haselgrove's phases (pp.34-35). A division is made between major (sites that have produced ten coins or more) and minor coin-producing sites to assess the effect of sites with extensive coin lists such as Baldock, Braughing/Puckeridge and Evenley which could skew coin-loss profile patterns. A sample of some of the major sites will be discussed separately. The two very large hoard assemblages of Whaddon Chase and Essendon are not included in the study because of their strong biasing effect.

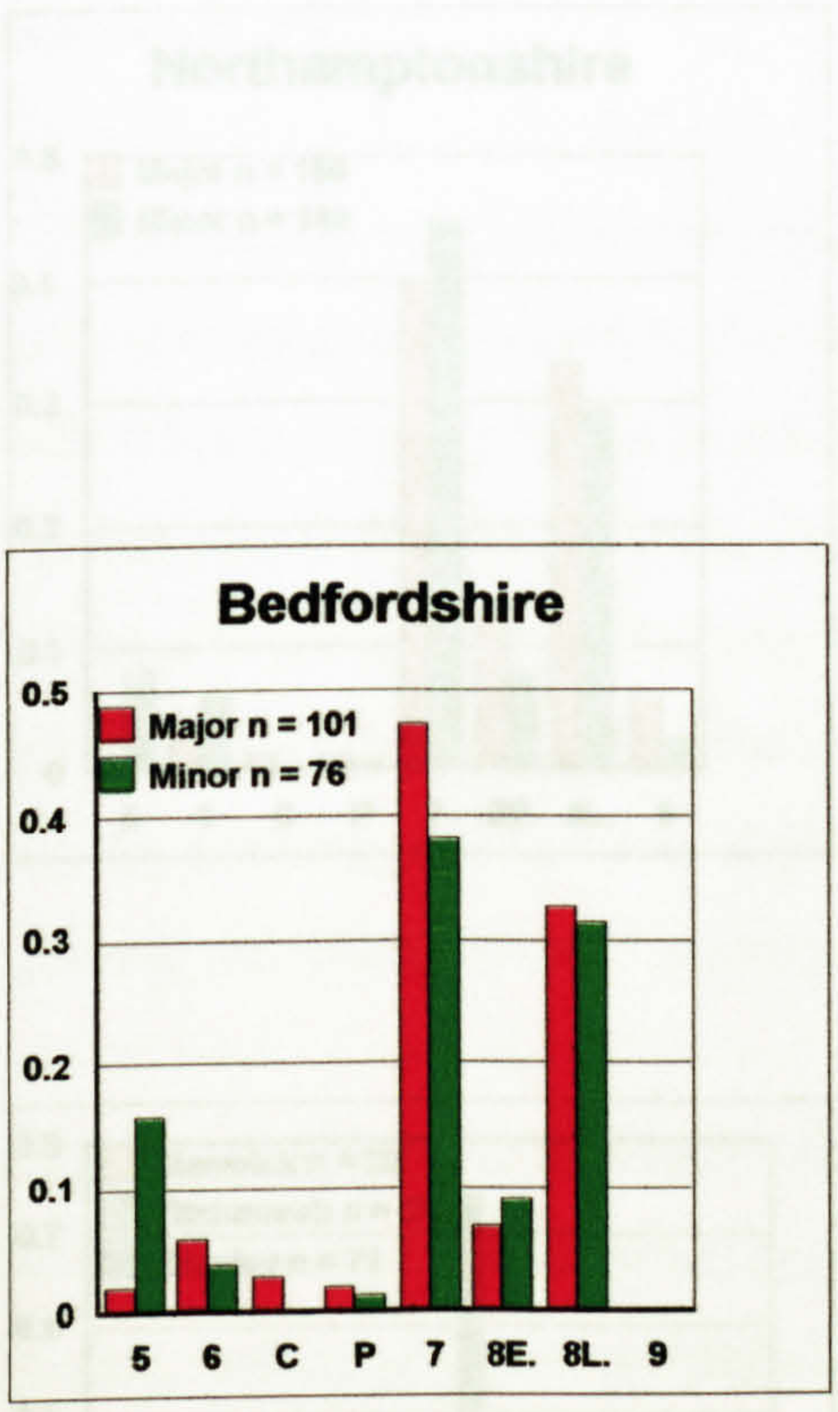
The graphs from each of the counties within the study area are shown in fig.22. It is clear that in each county the coin loss profiles for both major and minor sites are very similar and there are also similarities across the whole region. In all counties there is a small peak representing the early gold issues (Phase 5 and earlier) which in nearly every instance is only seen at minor sites indicating that these coins are usually only found together in low numbers. The exception is Buckinghamshire where early gold is more closely associated with larger coin assemblages which can be seen to equate with a large number of hoards that have been found across the county (see Appendix A).

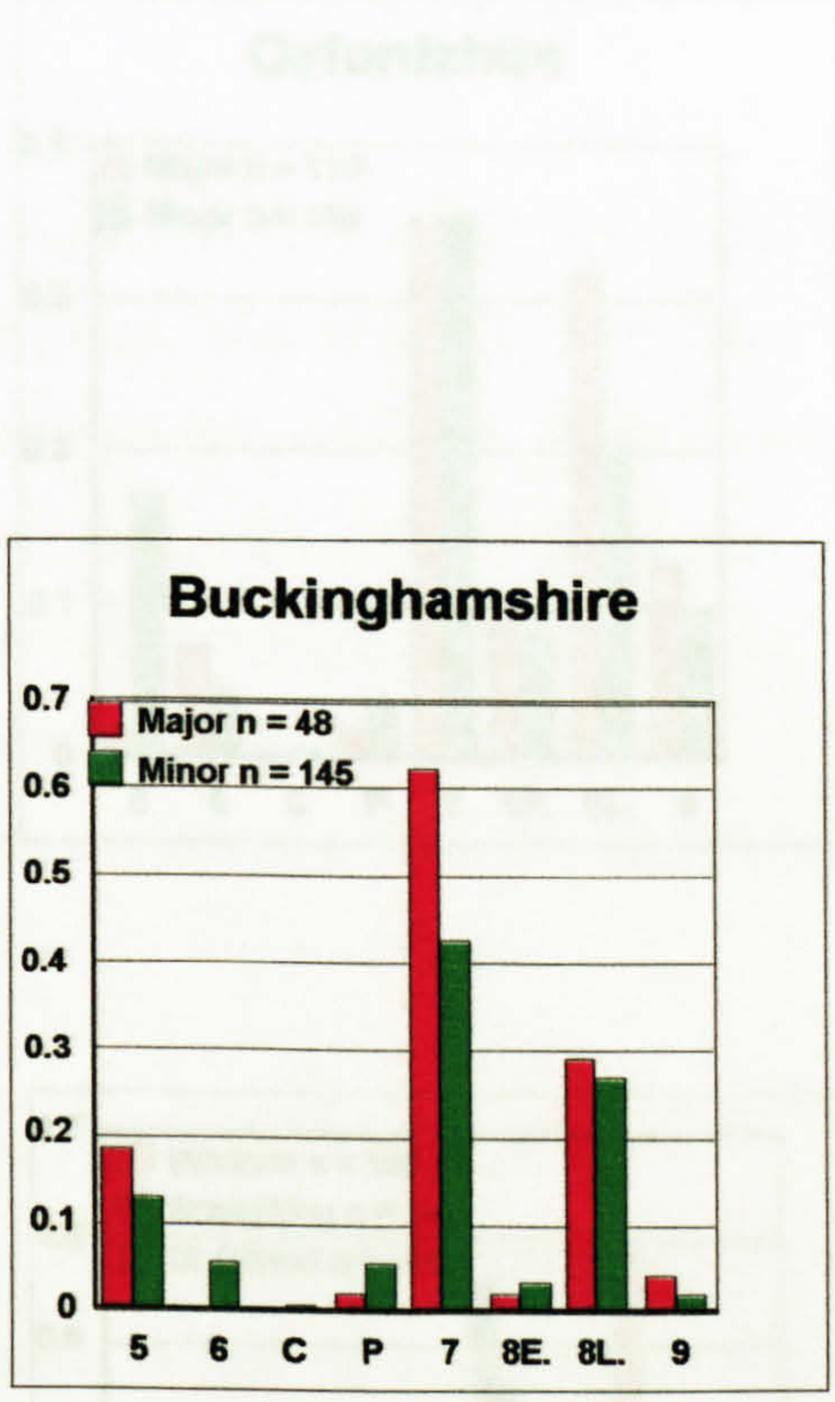
Coins belonging to Phase 6 are rare in all counties, particularly in Buckinghamshire where they have only been found on sites with small coin assemblages and are notably

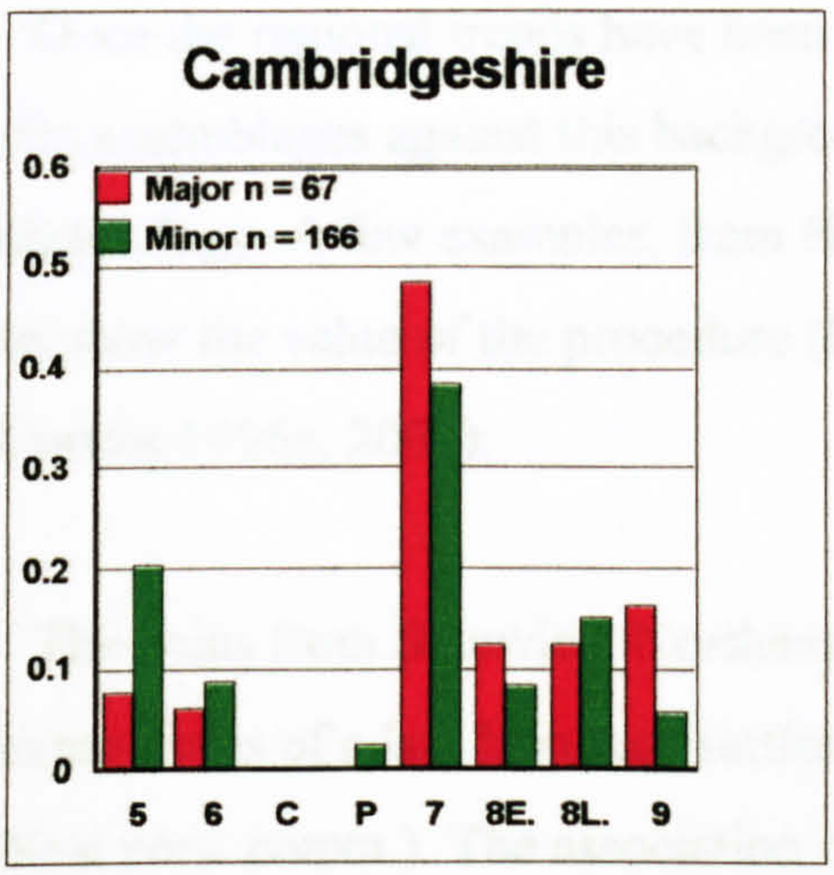
lacking from the sites with larger coin lists. Continental base metal coins (C) have been recorded in all counties except Cambridgeshire although it is only in Hertfordshire that they have been found in any number where they have been recently been recorded at Braughing and St Albans by Philip de Jersey. Potin coins (P), as demonstrated by the distribution maps, are present in all five counties but are proportionately more common in Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire. Phase 7 issues (predominantly coins of Tasciovanus) are the most common finds across the study area and, with the exception of Northamptonshire, are more common on the major coin producing sites which can be seen to be equated with large nucleated settlements. Coins dating to the early part of Phase 8 (8E), mostly the under developed issues of Cunobelin, are comparatively rare across the area at both major and minor sites, but are interestingly better represented at the minor sites in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire. The later issues of Phase 8 (8L) are very common in all counties, being particularly well represented on the large nucleated settlements with extensive coin lists. Cambridgeshire, however, stands out as an exception and may reflect the paucity of large nucleated settlements in the county or that the greater part of it would appear to lie within Icenian territory; whereas the peaks in most other counties are formed by the base issues of Cunobelin. Phase 9 coins, dating to around and to shortly after the Roman invasion, are limited to issues to attributed to the Dobunni, Iceni and Corieltauvi, those of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes having been terminated by the Roman invasion. Consequently such issues predominate in the counties that can be seen to partly fall within the territories of these tribal areas, particularly Oxfordshire and Cambridgeshire.

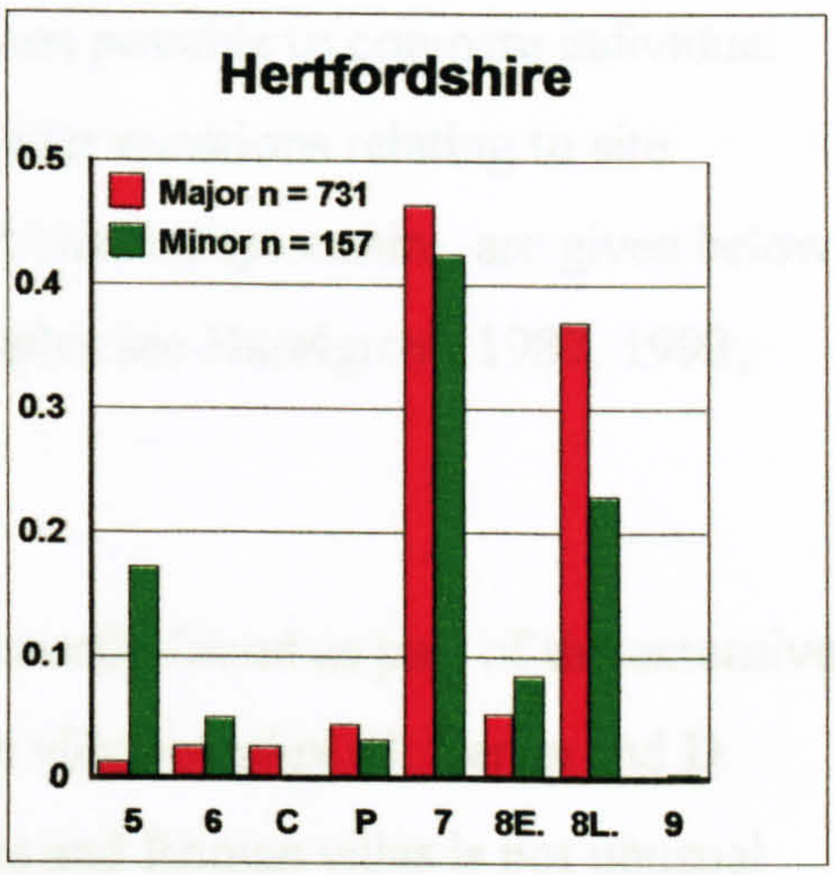
A similar study was carried out by Haselgrove (1987, 1993) using the smaller data base then available and restricting himself to excavated coins. He divided the north Thames region up into geographical regions but produced different results which led him to come to some different conclusions. Haselgrove's data (1993, 56) showed that in his Chilterns/Upper Thames valley and Nene Valley regions the later Phase 8 issues were more strongly represented than Phase 7 issues. From this he concluded (Haselgrove 1993, 57) that coinage first entered circulation in the major nucleated settlements, before filtering out to the more minor sites; while the late emphasis of the circulation pool in these two areas indicated to him that the Nene and Upper Thames Valleys only obtained

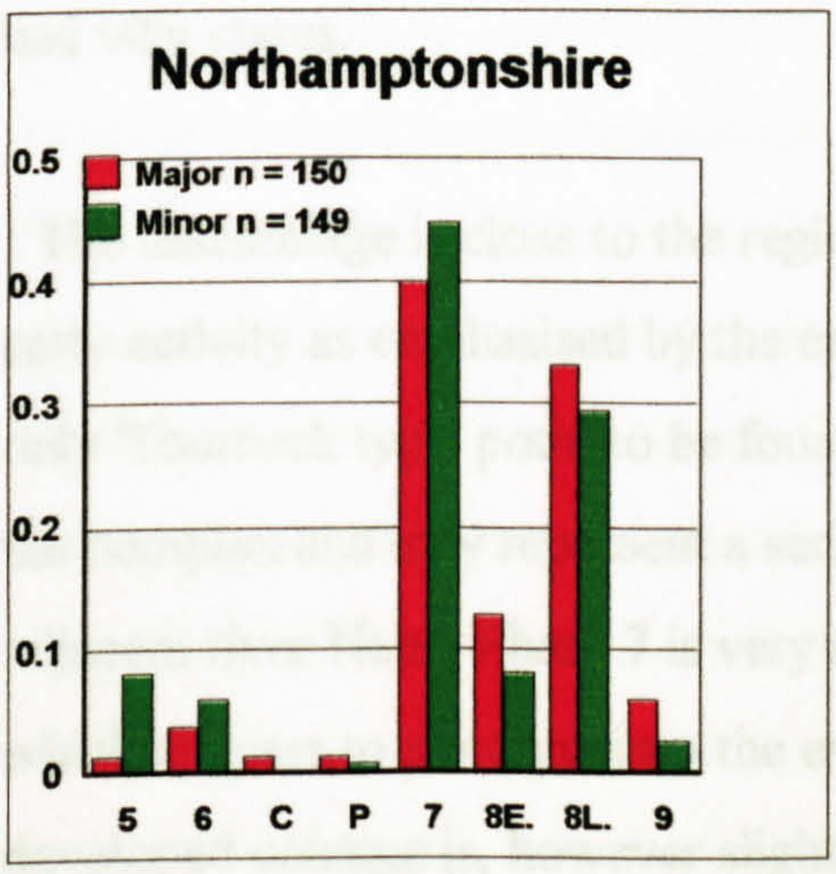
struck bronze after a hypothetical annexation by Cunobelin. The present results, with the exception of Northamptonshire, could be taken to support Haselgrove's hypothesis of coins filtering out from major to minor settlements but not the supposition of a late annexation of theses areas. The graphs for Northamptonshire (the settlements in which largely equate with the Nene valley) and Oxfordshire/Buckinghamshire (equating with Chiltern/Upper Thames valley) show that they, or the major parts of which, closely match the graph for Hertfordshire and therefore must be seen as part of the Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian core from the start. The difference in the results of the two studies highlights the dangers of drawing conclusions from small databases and emphasises the need for continued recording.

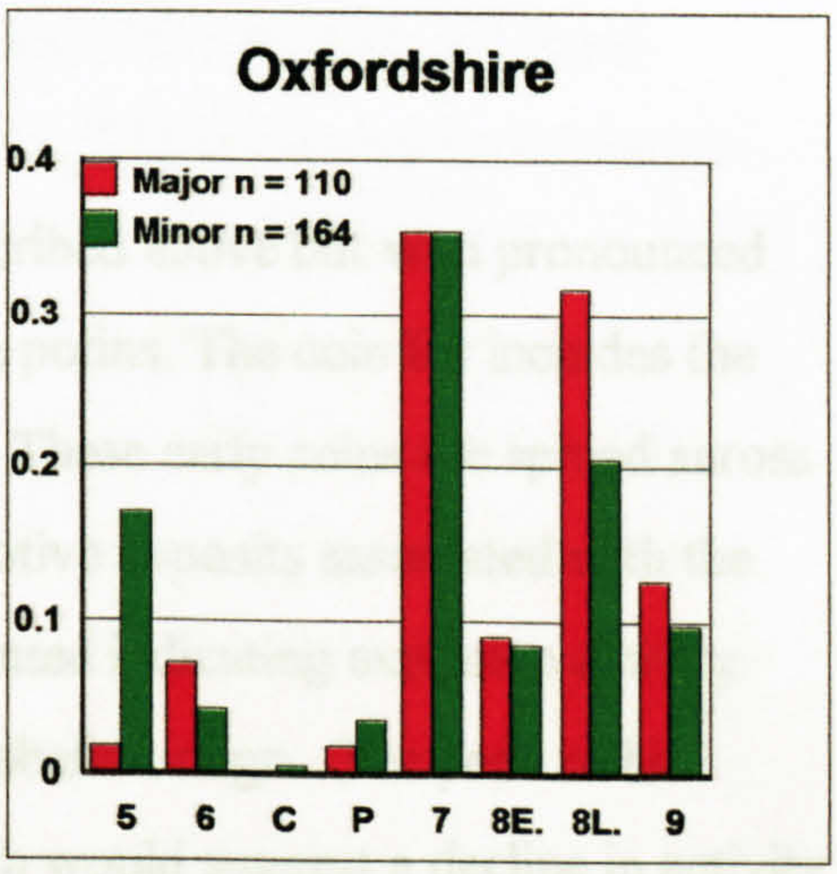


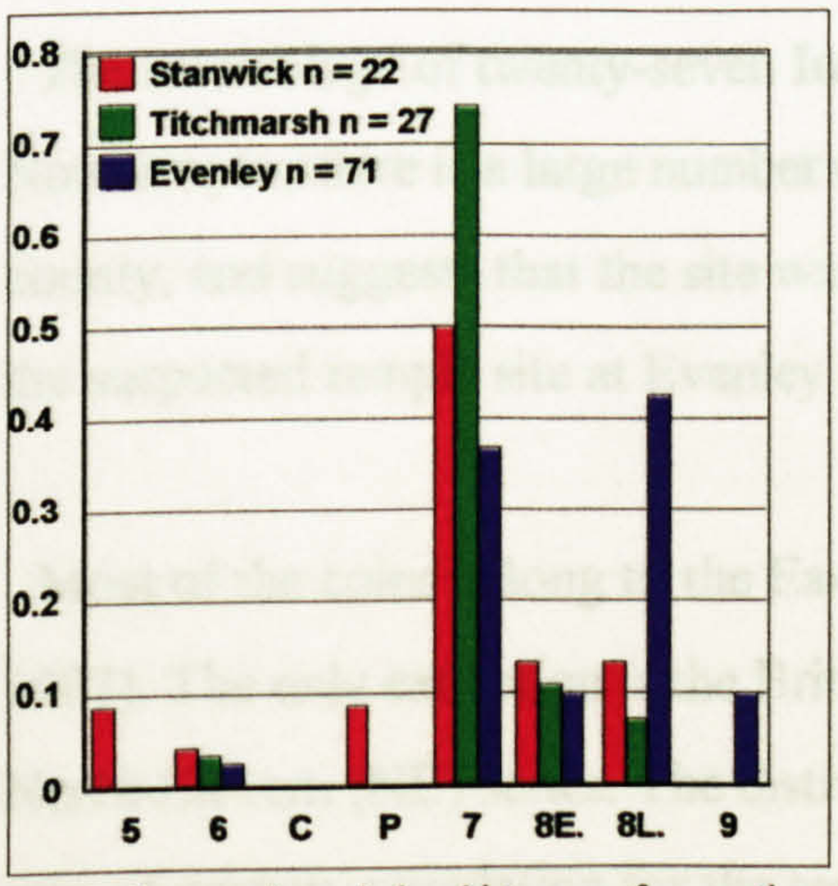












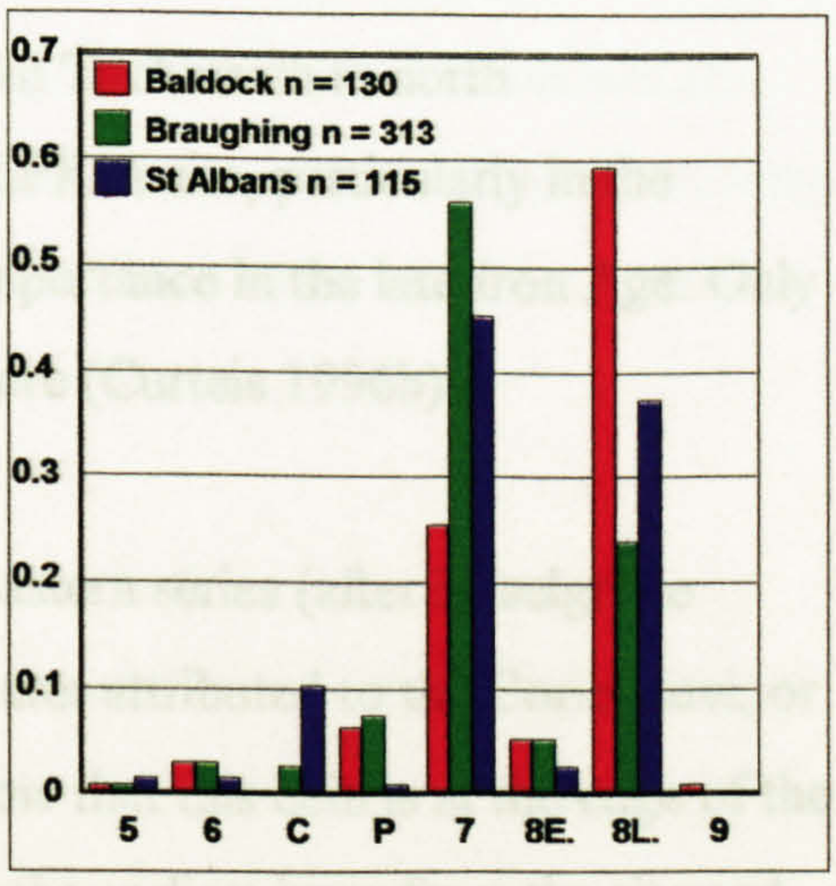


Fig.22: Comparative coin loss histograms for counties and sites

Once the regional trends have been identified it is then possible to compare individual site assemblages against this background and to consider questions relating to site chronology. A few examples, from Hertfordshire and Northamptonshire, are given below to show the value of the procedure (for further examples see Haselgrove 1987, 1993; Curteis 1996a, 2000).

The coins from Stanwick, Northamptonshire were mostly found as part of the extensive excavations of a late Iron Age settlement and Roman villa complex (R. Perrin and D. Neal pers. comm.). The association of Iron Age coins and Roman villas is not unusual and may be connected with a continued elite use of a site. Haselgrove (1987, 194) also notes that a large number of Roman rural sites that have produced Iron Age bronze coins had villa status.

The assemblage is close to the regional picture described above but with pronounced early activity as emphasised by the early gold and the potins. The coin list includes the only 'Thurrock type' potin to be found in the county. These early coins are spread across the complex and may represent a series of discrete votive deposits associated with the adjacent river Nene. Phase 7 is very strongly represented indicating extensive activity which appears to continue into the early part of Cunobelin's reign. The peak of his developed coinage is, however slightly reduced which would suggest a decline in activity towards the middle of the 1st century AD

The assemblage of twenty-seven Iron Age coins from Titchmarsh in north Northamptonshire is a large number of coins from a LPRIA site, particularly in the county, and suggests that the site was of particular importance in the late Iron Age. Only the suspected temple site at Evenley has produced more (Curteis 1996b).

Most of the coins belong to the Eastern or South-Eastern series (after Haselgrove 1987). The only exception is the British KA plated stater attributed to the Corieltauvi, or North-Eastern (NE) series. The distribution maps show that this coin is at the edge of the area of primary circulation for the series. This coin is the earliest issue from the site and the only Phase 6 issue. Titchmarsh is on or near a proposed Corieltauvi and

Trinovantes/Catuvellaunian tribal boundary (Curteis 1996a, 22; 2000 and above), and its presence compared to the different tribal attribution of all the later coins, may suggest a change in boundary location around c.20-30 BC. Coins from earlier phases are lacking, as are potins, suggesting little or no earlier activity on the site

Phase 7 is represented by a peak which is much more pronounced than the regional mean suggesting a high level of activity but the reduced peak of the later Phase 8 issues indicates that this activity had decreased towards the end of the Iron Age.

One of the exciting finds of this study has been the discovery by metal detectorists of a previously unknown large LPRIA settlement at Evenley (RCHM 1982, 50) in the extreme south of Northamptonshire by the River Ouse. The first coins were found in 1988 and now some 74 pieces have been recorded. This makes it, from coin numbers alone, by far the most important LPRIA site in the county. The close collaboration between the metal detector users, Northampton Museums, and Northamptonshire Heritage has enabled a considerable amount of site information to be collated which might otherwise have been lost. It demonstrates the benefits of metal detectorists and archaeologists working together.

The plotting of the coins onto large-scale maps reveals that the coins cover an area of nearly 0.5 km. The coin spread is fairly even and does not show any kind of concentration when considered in terms of date, metallic content, or tribal association. Only one outlier from the group is known. The large area covered by the coins, covering four fields on gently sloping ground leading down to the River Ouse, would suggest that the site was a centre of some importance.

The graph of coin finds reflects the picture produced by both major and minor sites from the county. There appears to be little early activity and the earliest coin is a single example belonging to Phase 6 (a gold stater). However, Phase 7 is very strongly represented, dropping off notably in early Phase 8, before reaching another strong peak in the later part of Phase 8. The list finishes late with seven coins from Phase 9. Although the majority of the coins are Eastern-region Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian issues, the

assemblage includes some eleven Dobunnic issues. The Dobunnic coins are two from Phase 7, two from Phase 8, and all the seven Phase 9 issues. Many of the Dobunnic silver units are ancient plated copies (70%). This is a high figure when compared to the Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian silver from the same site (28% counterfeit). A high incidence of plating amongst Dobunnic coinage has been noted elsewhere, as at Kingsholm, for example, where 43% of the Dobunnic pieces were plated (Haselgrove forthcoming). Just as there, most of the Dobunnic coins represented at Evenley are very late issues (Phase 9) and Haselgrove has suggested that the coins may not have been brought to the site until after the conquest. He notes that these later types are better represented outside the Western coinage area and interprets this as a post-conquest dispersal of coins presumably by the army. Contextual studies in the next chapter show that the developed coins of Cunobelin often come from Claudio-Neronian contexts, e.g. Baldock, which may suggest that some Iron Age coinage continued to be used alongside Roman coins until the influx of Flavian coinage, but the evidence is far from conclusive.

Weekley (not included in fig.22) is a late pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman settlement in central Northamptonshire to the north side of Kettering which has been partially excavated (Jackson and Dix 1987). The assemblage, although only eight coins, is intriguing and worthy of further comment. Six of these are Eastern or South-Eastern issues and belong to Phase 7. The other two coins, from Phase 8, are gold-plated staters with copper cores ascribed to the Corieltauvi. Eastern series coins, especially the regionally numerous developed coinage of Cunobelin, are notably absent. This may suggest either that the site declined in Phase 8, or perhaps, that it came under a different sphere of influence in this period, changing from Catuvellaunian to Corieltauvian control; the site is near our proposed boundary between the two tribes and would certainly fall within a boundary zone. A decline would seem unlikely because the site later developed into a Roman settlement of regional significance. There is archaeological evidence to support the boundary theory (see below p.203).

At Weekley we are perhaps seeing a site near a boundary the political control of which changes towards the end of the Iron Age. The apparent mixing of tribal types and the consequent blurring of a boundary, as we predicted above, appears to be happening at

Weekley and possibly can be seen to be a chronological effect of a shifting boundary. Only Eastern (Trinovantian/Catuvellaunian) issues were available for loss/deposition during phase 7 and only Corieltauvian issues during phase 8. An alternative hypothesis (C. Haselgrove pers. comm.) would see the site falling within Corieltauvian territory during phase 7 leading to Eastern series coins being discarded with the reverse happening during the following episode of Catuvellaunian control. The later hypothesis could provide a better fit for models suggesting Catuvellaunian expansion towards the end of the Iron Age which led, ultimately, to the Roman invasion, but it does not hold true for coin finds in the core of their issuing territories. However, at Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, which lies in the vicinity of the proposed Icenian boundary, all the coin finds up to phase 7 are Icenian while all the later ones are Eastern issues. Perhaps we may be seeing Catuvellaunian expansion in the east but slight retraction to the north?

Three sites are examined from Hertfordshire: Baldock, Braughing/Puckeridge and St Albans. All fall well within what is considered to be core Trinovanti/Catuvellauni territory and all have extensive coin lists. All three have relatively few early gold coins and even those from Phase 6 are below what may be expected, particularly at St Albans, suggesting little activity before c.20-30 BC. The number of Continental issues is very high at St Albans perhaps suggesting either closer contact with the continent, a particular local interest in such coins, or modern contamination of the sample. Potin coins are present in the proportions expected at Baldock and Braughing but are rare at St Albans again emphasising comparatively little activity early on in its chronology. Phase 7 would see a very high level of activity at Braughing, that at St Albans had greatly increased while the level of activity at Baldock was still comparatively low. At all sites the early Phase 8 counts are low as we would expect. In the later part of the Phase, St Albans continues at the same level activity as before, Baldock would appear to be flourishing while activity at Braughing would seem to be on the decline.

7.3 Conclusions

Metallic distribution studies have shown that gold tends to have been deposited on non-settlement sites, particularly on or near water sources, while base metal coins come from

settlement and other major sites, notably temples. Potins tend to be treated in a similar way to base metal coins.

The northern limit of Gallo-Belgic A distribution can now be more closely defined by the Chiltern Ridge and Icknield Way, while that of Gallo-Belgic B can now be seen to have a similar distribution north of the Thames. Finds of Gallo-Belgic C are more extensive than the preceding series suggesting that coin use had increased by this time to cover much of the study area. Gallo-Belgic D has a similar distribution but no finds have been recorded from north Cambridgeshire. Gallo-Belgic E has the widest distribution of all Gallo-Belgic types. The differing distributions of Gallo-Belgic C, D and E would suggest that Gallo-Belgic D was closer in date to Gallo-Belgic C than to Gallo-Belgic E.

A distribution of the Thurrock type north of the Chilterns may suggest the coins reached the study area from the east coast having been borne by ship from Kent. Class I potins have a similar distribution to Thurrock type coins suggesting the two types were used by the same society. Potins are found on settlement sites unlike Thurrock coins and consequently Class I potins may be seen as a chronological development of the Thurrock type. As Class II potins are concentrated at Baldock but no Class I potins are recorded from the site we can conclude, that since Baldock falls within the distribution of both types, that on archaeological grounds Class I potins are significantly earlier than Class II, which had previously been suggested on numismatic grounds. Most potins are recorded from comparatively late contexts suggesting a long circulation life, perhaps resulting from a change of function during the life of the coin. An analysis of find spots would suggest that potins circulated in a similar way both north and south of the Thames and we should now see a continuous area of circulation in both areas not a secondary area of circulation north of the Thames to which coins were exported and treated in a separate way to those from the south.

Instead of British A1 and A2 being seen simply as north and south Thames variants, the picture can be seen to be more complex with British A1 now being seen to be an eastern type with A2 to its south-west.

If it is assumed that coins mainly circulated in the area in which they had meaning, dictated by the issuing authority, then similar distributions may indicate similar issuing authorities. Such a hypothesis has been used to try to elucidate the issuing authority of uninscribed Lx (or north Thames) issues but it also highlights that the picture is complex. However, the distributions appear to show that Dubnovellaunus and Addedomaros seem to have controlled different areas and that, as a whole, the distribution of the uninscribed Lx types tends to more closely reflect the distributions of the Addedomaros issues.

As with previous studies the plots have been used to try to discern areas of tribal control and there are clear areas where particular regional types predominate. It can be concluded that such boundaries were not static but where in a state of flux which can be recognised on both a broad and a local scale. On occasion coins can also be seen to have circulated beyond their intended area of circulation.

Hoards and deposits of gold coins concentrate around these boundaries as do temples and sanctuaries with which the coins may be associated. Realising that boundaries are highlighted by gold finds and that they fluctuate through time, tied with an observation that many of the inscribed issues of Tasciovanus have very different distributions, has produced an hypothesis that it may be possible to elucidate the chronology of the major components of his coinage by dividing the total distribution area of his issues up into zones of expansion. The results showed that the variant distributions where, in part, chronological but there are other factors that are involved.

An analysis of the distributions of issues in the name of Rues, Dias and Andoco would suggest they controlled sub-tribal areas under a greater authority (Tasciovanus). As the issues of Rues have a wider distribution than Dias and Andoco and because his name is never linked with Tasciovanus it could also be inferred that Rues was in fact a successor to Tasciovanus. The distribution of the coins with a Ricon legend, being very similar to those of Tasciovanus as a whole, would suggest that it is indeed a title and not a mint or subordinate's name.

The coins of Cunobelin have the greatest geographical extent of all the types seen in the study area emphasising the large territorial area he controlled. There are many more find spots of Cunobelin's later types and a slightly wider distribution suggesting a degree of political expansion later in his reign; perhaps re-occupying territory lost under Rues.

From an analysis of hoard deposition it would appear that many fall on potential boundaries while the distribution of hoards shows a chronological expansion reflecting the spread of coin use as observed in the development of the Gallo-Belgic series.

It can be seen that the distribution plots undertaken as part of the study have been given new clarity by the extra data now available and this highlights the importance of continuing to record new finds and making the information available.

The production of bar charts for the each county and for large individual sites corroborates the conclusions drawn from the distribution maps, while analyses of individual sites has enabled valuable information to be discovered concerning site chronology and tribal affiliation. The methodology shows the importance of total site coin assemblage analysis as a powerful interpretative tool.

8. SITE FINDS AND THEIR DEPOSITIONAL CONTEXT

8.1 Depositional contexts and structured deposition

The detail of recording on archaeological excavations has developed significantly over the last couple of decades and as techniques have developed more precise contextual information has been collected. The wealth of contextual data now available has recently led a number of researchers to examine the nature of archaeological deposits to try to unravel site formation techniques particularly with regard to how artefacts actually enter the archaeological record.

Up until the 1990s small finds, including coins, were generally seen by archaeologists as useful chronological indicators, possibly with future exhibition possibilities. Occasionally they were used to identify activity areas within settlements or reconstruct exchange and social systems (e.g. Cunliffe 1984, 544). But with the exception of pioneering work on Iron Age coinages (Haselgrove 1987) and also at Maiden Castle (Sharples 1991, 153 and 243-49) there was no consideration of the contexts of deposition. It was simply assumed that the archaeological record was a more or less direct reflection of past activities (Hill 1995a, 20). If an explanation was made of the processes involved as to how items entered the archaeological record, they were assumed, in general, to have been rubbish or casual losses.

During the 1980s metalwork and coinage deposited off-site was seen in an increasingly 'ritual' perspective. Late Iron Age shrines were seen to have deposits of coinage and weaponry (Brunaux 1988, Haselgrove 1989a), while the gold coinages, almost exclusively known from off-site contexts (see above p.52ff), were also starting to be interpreted in a symbolic way. At the same time it was becoming universally accepted that weaponry and cauldrons were deliberately deposited in watery contexts for ritual purposes, and some classes of small find were sometimes deposited as grave goods (Bradley 1990).

Following on from these basics, evidence for the selective deposition of small finds in boundary contexts started to be recognised across Britain (e.g. Bowden and McOmish

1987, Hingley 1990, Hill 1995a). Indeed (following e.g. Maltby 1985, Hill 1995a, Fitzpatrick 1997) it became apparent that boundaries were deliberately marked by the deposition of certain kinds of material. Human bones were shown to have been used in this way to define farm compounds; pits being used were there were no boundary ditches (Wait 1985, 83-121). Maltby (1985) showed that large deposits of animal bones might be deposited in boundary ditches and, furthermore, that faunal assemblages are never a direct reflection of the original composition of the livestock kept in the Iron Age.

It had been recognised that many large pits, particularly those used for grain storage, had unusual deposits placed at their bases. Cunliffe (1992, 75) considered that up to 40% of the pits at Danebury may have contained 'special deposits' while Fitzpatrick (1997, 79) noted that it was possible that the remainder also had some kind of special deposit that had since decayed. It was still generally considered pits not containing such special deposits were filled with rubbish and that the upper fill of pits with the 'special deposits' at their bases, also contained rubbish.

Work, particularly by Hill (1994, 1995a), has questioned traditional assumptions by closely examining the nature of archaeological deposits. This approach, drawing on ethnographic and experimental work, had implications for all types of finds. It stressed the need to understand how material entered archaeologically recoverable contexts (ditch, pit and post-hole fills etc.), and what may have happened to that material before its incorporation into the archaeological record. Examinations of finds assemblages have shown that the material not only included material not easily recognised as rubbish, such as a range of human remains and 'special animal deposits' described above (e.g. Wait 1985), but also a large and extensive range of other archaeological material. Hingley (1990) argued that iron 'currency bars', or ingots, were usually deposited close to the boundary of the settlements for symbolic/ritual reasons

The detailed study by Hill (1994, 1995a) of all classes of material found in pits and ditches clearly demonstrated that such material is composed of complex and highly structured patterns and was not merely a random act of rubbish disposal and therefore should be seen as a ritual act (Hill 1994, 4).

Calculations working out the amount of 'rubbish' required to fill the pits or ditches, and the amount of material available on sites, which were often kept very clean, would indicate that potential 'rubbish' was stored elsewhere, perhaps as a midden (Fitzpatrick 1997, 79). Special objects for inclusion may have been curated for some time before being deposited in the feature.

Boundary ditches should be seen as marking a symbolic division of space between the inside and the outside of settlements. Hill (1994, 6) has demonstrated that, even centuries after the Middle Iron Age boundary ditch at Winnall Down had ceased to be a prominent feature, it was still functioning as a symbolic division of space. With such a strong symbolic investment on the boundary, the locations where these boundaries were crossed were especially strongly marked. The architecture of settlement gateways was often elaborate, thus emphasising the crossing of such a boundary, for example the LPRIA gate complex of enclosure A at Gorhambury (Neal *et al* 1990, 14 fig. 13). The ditch terminals either side of the settlement entrance were often the location for ritual deposits, e.g. at Gussage All Saints (Hill 1994, 6-7).

Cosmological orientation has also shown to be important, for examples with roundhouses where door ways predominantly faced east or south-east, in the direction of the rising sun. Such orientation is related to symbolic considerations rather than to straightforward environmental factors, such as wind direction (Oswald 1997). Similarly Wait (1985, 177) has shown homogeneity in the orientation of Iron Age shrines. Roundhouse and settlement orientation may be a further potent expression of a belief which blurred any distinction between religious and domestic activity.

It was seen that, just as architecture had cosmological meaning, there was also importance placed on the geographical positioning of ritual deposits within a boundary ditch with distinctions made between east:west, north:south. For example, at Gussage All Saints small finds and human remains were recovered almost entirely from the eastern front-half of the boundary ditch, with a notable preponderance of small finds from the northern ditch terminal of the east facing entrance (Hill 1994, 6-7). At Dunston Park,

which like Gussage has an east facing roundhouse within an east facing enclosure, Fitzpatrick (1994, 69-70) noted that the two post-holes of the porch structure held a particularly high quantity of finds and this was particularly true of the northern post-hole, again parallelling Gussage.

Consequently the layout of a settlement and the organisation of deposits within it can be seen as structured and symbolic, "but not just symbolic: the irregular ritual deposits in different parts of the settlement served to physically engrave the cosmological concerns of ritual onto the spaces in and through which Iron Age peoples lived" (Hill 1994, 6).

In relation to the field of Iron Age numismatics questions must be asked as to whether or not the majority of coins found on settlement sites are accidental losses or deliberate deposits. We have shown that on non-settlement sites gold coins were very probably deliberately deposited, but how the majority of base metal coins, which are the normal metal of deposition on settlement sites and other kinds of occupation site (e.g. markets and temples), enter the archaeological record is a separate question and one which has often been seen (e.g. Casey 1974, Grierson 1975) to reflect accidental loss resulting from purely economic factors.

The basic questions are:

1.Were the coins sometimes used in a symbolic way, as appears to have been the case with other types of small find such as brooches?

2.Were coins seen as a particularly powerful symbol for deposition, as were gold coins in watery contexts (see p.52), and thus were infrequently discarded or seldom lost?

3. Were coins seen as being of little symbolic importance and frequently discarded or lost with little thought, and hence enter the archaeological record by accident?

4. Did any symbolic importance of coins change through time?

Whatever the answers are they have a very direct reflection on the use and function of coins and, importantly, how people viewed them.

To define an answer to these questions a detailed analysis must be made of the archaeological contexts from which coins are derived. The maximum contextual information must be obtained from the excavation record for we will need to know context type, position in context, other material in the deposit (which may provide evidence for structuring), the date of deposition (we do not know if the coins were always treated in the same way), and possibly the location of the feature since we know that geographical positioning was of symbolic importance.

The study area includes a number of relatively well explored late Iron Age settlements, e.g. Baldock, St Albans and Braughing/Puckeridge, but only 8% (256) of the coins recorded on the database come from a firm archaeological context. Although this fraction appears small, emphasising how few coins are actually recovered from excavations, it is of sufficient size for analyses to be made.

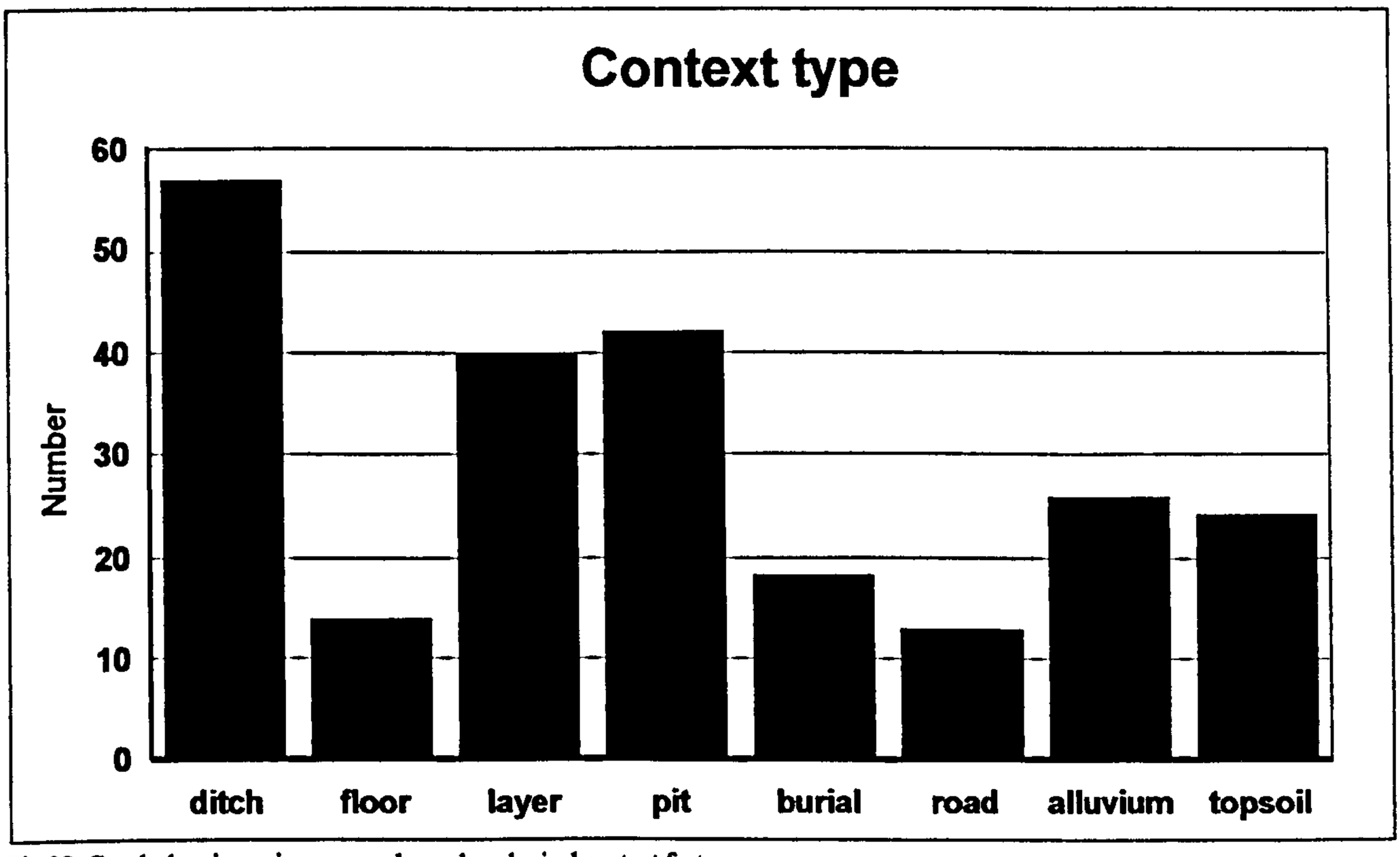


Fig.23. Graph showing coin recovery by archaeological context feature

Contextual data for coins recovered from archaeological features is summarized in Appendix B. An analysis of the feature types (fig.23) from which the coins have been recovered clearly shows that coins were most commonly deposited in ditches, followed by pits, layers and alluvium. The term 'layer' refers to a variety of horizontal spreads

including leveling deposits, destruction deposits and floors; in most excavation reports or archives the feature the excavator terms a 'layer' is not clearly interpreted or understood.

Original floor levels are likely to be under represented in the sample; at a number of sites within the study area (notably at Baldock) intact floor levels are poorly preserved. The coins originally contained on or within such contexts are therefore more likely to have become part of the plough soil and, as unstratified finds, do not form part of the analysis.

The ditch, from the evidence of the recent studies outlined above, has been shown to have functioned as a strongly symbolic division of space between what was enclosed and that which was outside. The results showing that coins were predominantly deposited in such features would indicate that the ditch was a medium most specifically selected for such deposition and that such an act was deliberate action to enhance the symbolic importance of the ditch or feature rather than an accidental, random, loss.

The importance of ditches is highlighted when we consider that ditches are also proportionately more likely to contain coins than other classes of feature including pits. For example, at Baldock Site A (Stead and Rigby 1986) 24 features were termed ditches while 232 features were termed pits (not including post-holes) yet 11% of ditches had coins in their fills compared with 3% of pits. Although this could be taken to suggest that ditches have greater total volume than pits, the ditches excavated on the site were found contain pottery sherds representing 56 vessels while pits contained a minimum of 391 vessels

The second most common place for coins to be deposited is the pit. We noted above that it has been recognised for some time that grain storage pits often had 'special deposits' at their bases. However, many pits are simply termed 'rubbish' pits in archaeological literature, if the use of the pit is interpreted at all.

The studies (e.g. by Hill 1993, 1995a and Parker-Pearson 1996) have shown that often the material in pits was derived from primary discard locations such as middens not

simply from 'rubbish' kicking around the surface of the site. Fitzpatrick (1997, 79) points out, specially selected and curated material aside, the rubbish itself may have been seen as a material with liminal qualities as it is both decaying and life giving, and thus may itself have been an appropriate material to cover the special deposits in the base of the pit. The nature of the material selected for deposition in pits and the nature of Iron Age chthonic beliefs may be an important consideration in the interpretation of material in pits: functioning as a conduit to the spirits of the underworld and to mother earth.

Pits are known at the centres of a number of Iron Age shrines including Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1994, 114), Uley (Woodward 1992, 32) and Gournay-sur-Aronde (Brunaux 1988, 12). Votive pits have also been recognised at a large number of shrines and sanctuaries (see below).

Recent studies on the distribution of finds on Iron Age sites (e.g Winnall Down: 1989, 20 and Danebury: Cunliffe 1992) implies that the general ground surfaces of Iron Age sites were very clean. The presence of large numbers of coins and other small finds in layers may indicate that some layers were not just simply 'ground', 'levelling' or 'destruction' deposits but are more complex and structured in nature; perhaps having more similarities in nature to the layers of ritual deposits recognised around a number of Iron Age shrines (e.g.Gournay-sur-Aronde and Mirebeau in France (Brunaux 1988) and Hayling Island), where deposits of bone, ceramics, small finds (including coins), weaponry and organic matter have been known to have been deposited in some quantity producing thick layers of deposit.

Alluvium, here including stream sediments and a variety of other water deposited silts, i.e. areas that would have been stream beds or wetlands in the late Iron Age, would seem a very appropriate place for the deposition of coins considering the strong desire the people of the Iron Age very obviously felt to deposit material in a votive way in watery contexts. Rivers, springs, marshes and streams would function as receptacles for offerings used in water cults in the same way as pits in earth cults. We have already seen this in relation to the gold coinage and can now add that a proportion of the base metal coinage may also have been deposited in a similar way. Other examples of Iron Age

material being deposited in this manner are numerous, for example the fine examples of metal work found in the rivers Witham and Thames.

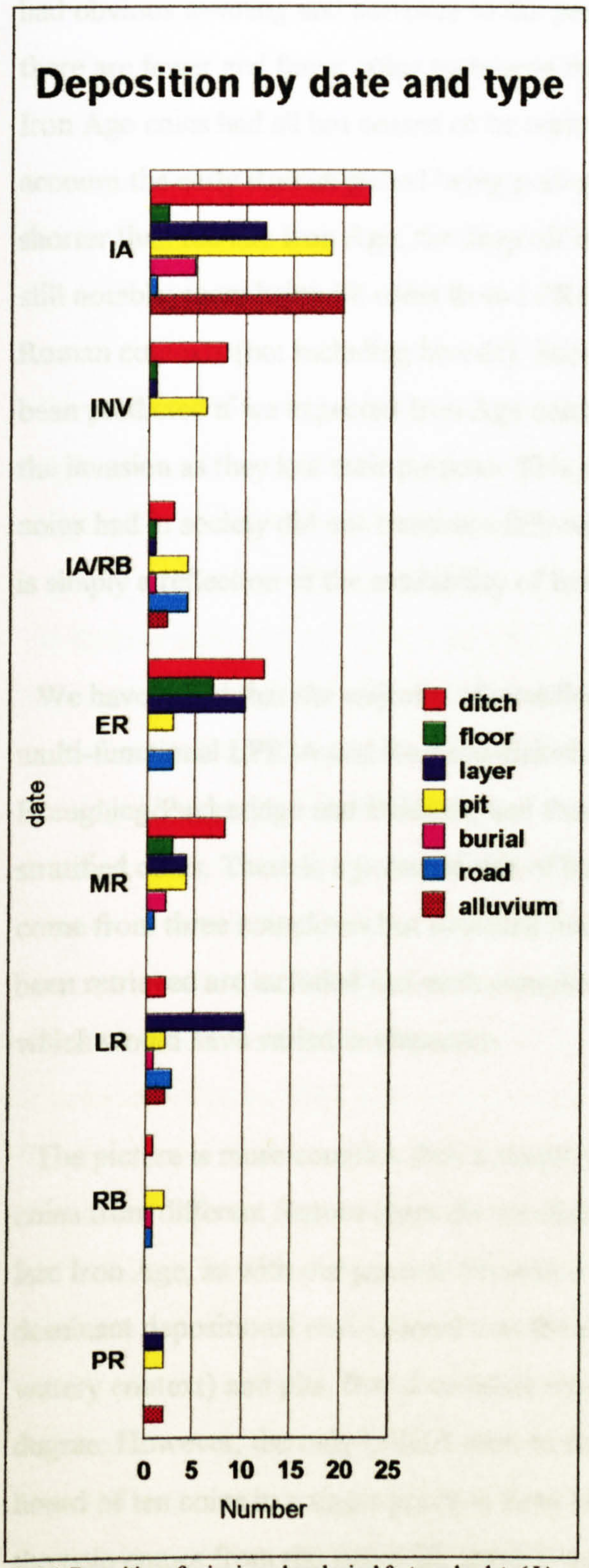


Fig.24. Deposition of coins in archaeological features by date (IA = Iron Age, INV = invasion period e.g. AD 30-60, IA/RB = context not dated more closely than late Iron Age to late Roman, ER = early Roman (AD 43-100), MR = middle Roman (AD 100-300), LR = late Roman (AD 300-450), RB = Roman, PR = post Roman).

If the features are analysed chronologically (fig.24) it is observed that the majority of Iron Age coins originate from deposits dated to the late Iron Age, a time in which they had obvious meaning and currency to the people who used them. As time progresses there are fewer and fewer coins recovered from features and by the post Roman period Iron Age coins had all but ceased to be represented in features. Even if we take into account the early Roman period being perhaps two or even three times chronologically shorter than the late Iron Age, the drop off in coin deposition following the invasion is still notable; there being 98 coins from LPRIA contexts compared with 32 from early Roman contexts (not including hoards). Such a finding is different to one that may have been predicted if we expected Iron Age coins to be discarded in the decades following the invasion as they lost their purpose. This could indicate that whatever meaning the coins had in society did not terminate following the invasion and the fall-off in deposition is simply a reflection of the availability of Iron Age coinage.

We have noted that the majority of stratified coins come from the important, large, multi-functional LPRIA and Romano-British settlement sites at St Albans, Braughing/Puckeridge and Baldock, and these sites account for over 75% of the stratified coins. There is a potential risk of bias when such a high proportion of the coins come from three complexes but stratified finds from ALL sites of which information has been retrieved are included and each complex is itself made up of several distinct sites which would have varied in character.

The picture is more complex than a simple fall off curve and the comparative ratios of coins from different feature types do not decrease correspondingly through time. In the late Iron Age, as with our general discussion of feature preference on settlements, the dominant depositional environment was the ditch followed closely by alluvium (i.e. watery context) and pits. Burial contexts also appear to have been chosen to a certain degree. However, the only LPRIA context associated with a primary burial context is the hoard of ten coins in a single grave at King Harry Lane, St Albans. In all the other cases the coin comes from the grave fill, the grave pit perhaps then being seen in a similar way, both functionally and symbolically, to other pits. Therefore, with the exception of the King Harry Lane example, coins do not seem to be appropriate items for deposition in

graves as a primary grave good. This could be taken to suggest that coins were not functional items for the journey to, or use in, the afterlife in the same way as conventional grave goods or, significantly, Roman coins during the Roman period.

Coin finds from 'layers' are not uncommon from late Iron Age contexts, although the recovered assemblage from them is only around half of the number of coins from pits and ditches respectively. Coins were seldom deposited, or at least left, in or on roads or floors.

Immediately after the invasion the pattern of deposition dramatically changes, thereby emphasising that the picture we see reflects deliberate and structured activity, not a simple picture of random loss and deposition.

In Roman-period contexts the majority of coin finds still come from ditches. A much larger proportion of finds now also comes from layers. Such layers may represent the detritus on sites that were less clean than their predecessors, deposits caused by the levelling of buildings and which had held coins in their structures or floors, or coins redeposited from another primary deposit such as a pit or ditch. Consequently a greater proportion of coin finds following the invasion may be residual, and residuality is a function of deposition likely to increase with time. Yet, as shall be demonstrated below, a major component of the Iron Age coin assemblage recovered from Roman deposits can be seen as deliberate depositions. An example from the study area is Brigstock, Northamptonshire (Greenfield 1963) where a gold stater was found lying on the floor of the Roman shrine alongside Roman votive material suggesting that it was not accidentally redeposited from an earlier feature, but was regarded, and used, in a votive way.

Floors also show a proportional increase in depositional numbers, possibly because of the same reasons for the inclusion of more coins in layers (also note that in a number of cases the two classes of feature may have been indistinguishable to the excavator). Alternatively, perhaps following the invasion floors and certain other layers were

considered to be the appropriate environment into which Iron Age coins should be deposited.

The idea of a pit being seen as a preferred depositional environment almost entirely disappears following the invasion, although pits still continued to be a common feature an all types of site. This strongly suggests that pits were especially selected for the deposition of coins in the late Iron Age.

The proportion of coins recovered from road contexts increases slightly following the invasion and during the Roman period. The reason may simply be indicative that more roads existed during the Roman period. Thirteen Iron Age coins are known from road contexts, nine of which are from Baldock. All but one context is of Roman date. It may be of note that a further four coins are from ditches recognised as roadside ditches.

The material contextually associated with the Baldock road finds is as follows:

Context A: Pot, animal bone, four iron objects and a fragment of vessel glass. The context was dated LPRIA.

Context B: Glass beaker rim.

Context C: Copper alloy object, a semi-circular iron object, two iron nails, 795g pot, 45g slag, 75g shell and 560g animal bone.

Context D: An iron object, a copper alloy brooch pin, a Hod Hill brooch tinned and complete, tweezers, copper alloy scrap, an unidentified copper alloy object, a decorated samian sherd with lead rivet, and a large amount of pottery. Two coins came from this context.

Context E: An iron nail, two struck flints, loom weight fragments, an Aucissa brooch with half of its pin missing, a circular plate brooch with six lugs and a hole in the centre for a missing attachment, lots of pottery.

Context F: Two iron objects and an iron nail, a decorated samian sherd, a samian rim and LPRIA and early Roman coarse pottery sherds. Two coins came from this context.

Context G: Contents not traceable.

The wealth and concentration of small finds in the road contexts containing coins at Baldock is greater than that generally found on the site. This was recognised by the excavator who suggested that this had resulted from the road makeup being quarried from a nearby elite cemetery wherein several rich burials had been disturbed (G. Burleigh pers. comm.). This could perhaps explain some of the material but probably not the coins which were rarely associated with burials. Another two contexts at Baldock, that contained seven (a 'quarry') and six (a solution hollow) coins apiece, lay on a crossroads, in the angle of which was a large burial enclosure with central 'chieftains' burial (this site is discussed in detail below).

It is suggested that the presence of the coins and other small finds in/on the roads was intentional; with material being selected in a similar way as has been demonstrated for pits (e.g. Hill 1995a). The location of the crossroads at Baldock must have been considered important and it may be that roads themselves were seen as symbolic; perhaps functioning as a variety of boundary, both delimiting and bounding in the same way as ditches. Significantly the Icknield Way has frequently been interpreted as a major boundary (for example, see Chapter 7 and p.155).

Many studies on structured deposits (e.g. Cunliffe 1992, Hill 1995a, Parker Pearson 1996, Fitzpatrick 1997) have emphasised the position of certain material within pits and ditches, noting that different categories of material come from different position in the fill. During the Iron Age the special animal deposits and complete pots would appear to have been placed at the base of features.

It would appear that the relative positioning of coins within features (figs.25 and 26) was deliberate and is emphasised by the change following the Roman invasion. Prior to the invasion coins were frequently placed in the lower fill of pits and ditches. The placement of coins in the middle and upper fills was also commonly practised although to a slightly lesser degree than placing coins towards the bottom of the features. Following the invasion, with only one exception, the coins were found to come entirely from the tops of ditches where they may have functioned as termination deposits. This may suggest that there was some curation of Iron Age coinage during the Roman period: if

the features had been filled in a non-structured way we would expect coins, if treated in any other way than as simply residual detritus, to be much more evenly spread throughout the fills.

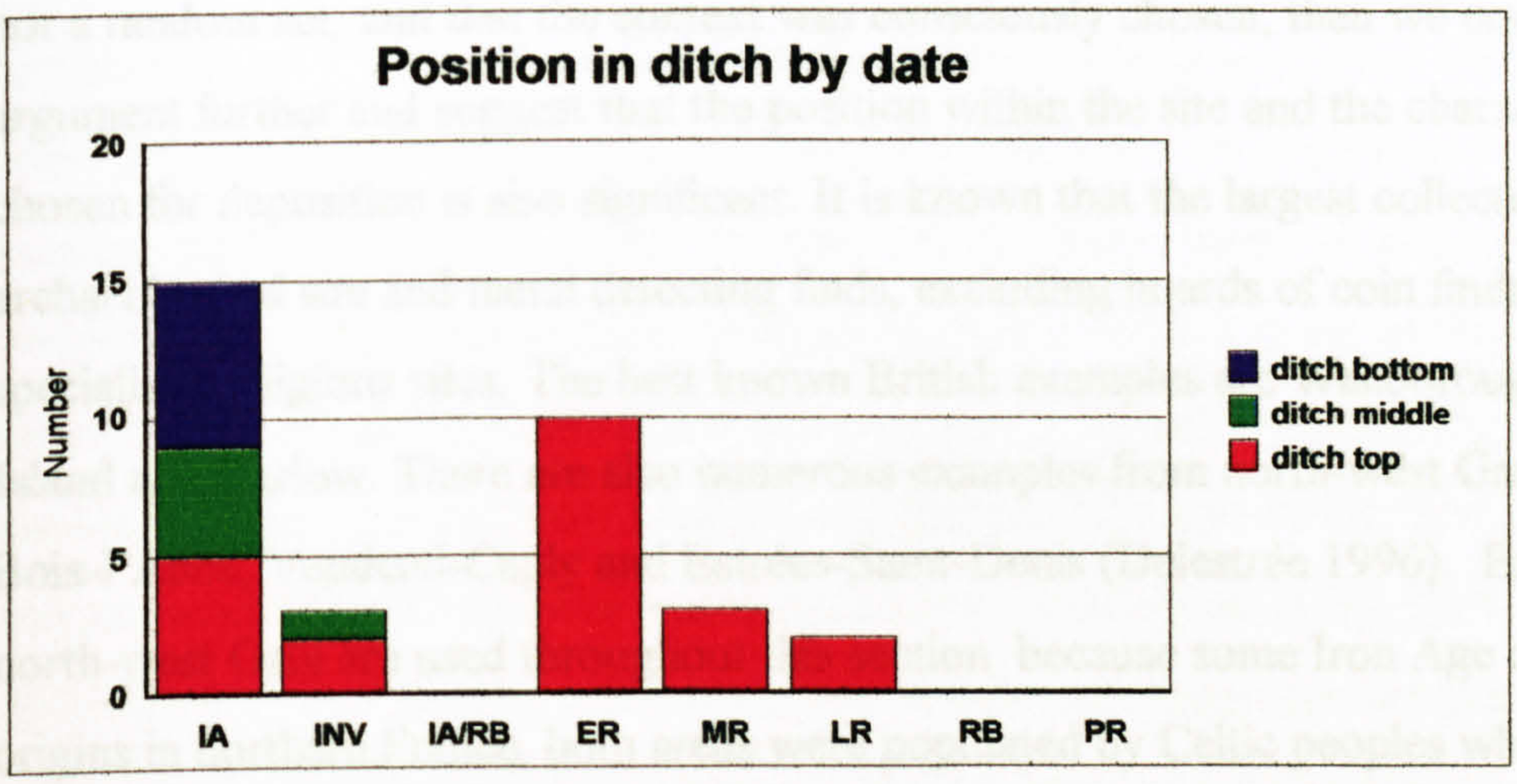


Fig.25: Position of coin in ditch fill by date

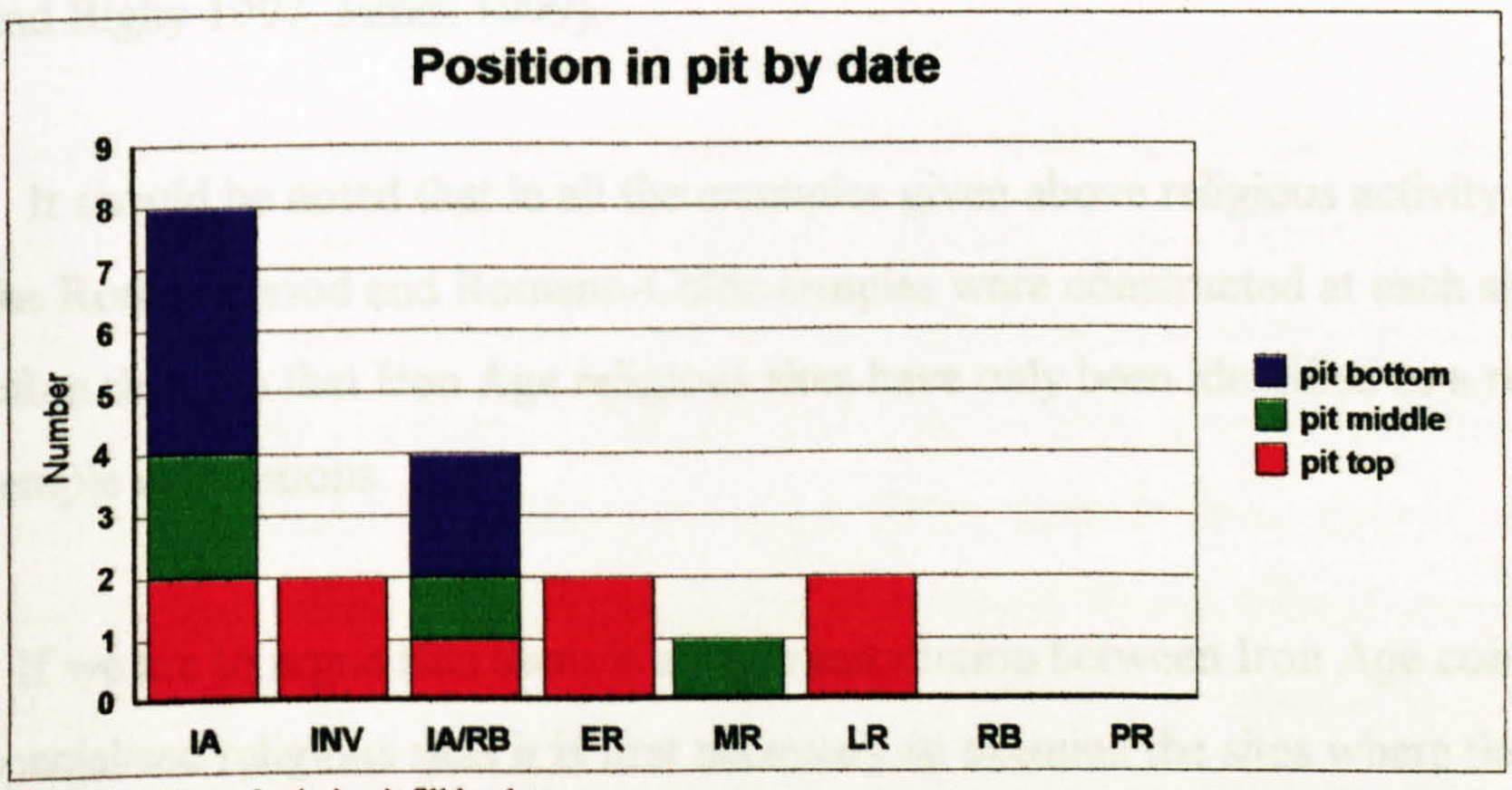


Fig.26: Position of coin in pit fill by date

One could argue that if coins come from the top of ditches dated to the LPRIA then their upper fill is likely to be early Roman in date yet the same argument could be used for pits where this is clearly not the case. Furthermore, where the coin is from an upper ditch fill of Roman date, over 80% of the ditch cuts are post conquest. Consequently, it is proposed that Iron Age coins not only had a symbolic function during the Iron Age but also in the Roman period. If true then the high proportion of coins deposited in or on Roman floors and similar layers may also be non-accidental.

8.2 The character of specialised Iron Age religious sites in Britain and continuity into the Roman period.

If we assume that the deposition of the majority of Iron Age coins was a deliberate and not a random act, and that the context was consciously chosen, then we could take the argument further and suggest that the position within the site and the character of the site chosen for deposition is also significant. It is known that the largest collections of archaeological site and metal detecting finds, excluding hoards of coin finds, come from specialised religious sites. The best known British examples are Wanborough, Hayling Island and Harlow. There are also numerous examples from north-west Gaul, including Bois-l'Abbé, Vendeuil-Caply and Estrées-Saint-Denis (Delestrée 1996). Examples from north-west Gaul are used throughout this section because some Iron Age coinage had its origins in northern France, both areas were populated by Celtic peoples who shared similar religious beliefs, and both areas appear to have used coins in similar ways (James and Rigby 1997, James 1999).

It should be noted that in all the examples given above religious activity continued into the Roman period and Romano-Celtic temples were constructed at each site. Indeed, it is often the case that Iron Age religious sites have only been identified as a result of Roman temple excavations.

If we are to argue that there is a close association between Iron Age coins and specialised religious sites it is first necessary to examine the sites where their particular nature and character has been established. From this we can determine the characteristics typical to specialised religious sites and hence recognise such places where attention is not drawn to them by Roman temple structures.

A number of definite Iron Age religious sites have been excavated in England and northern France. The recognised examples tend to be located near to water (e.g. rivers, springs or marshes), within hillforts (e.g. Danebury, Maiden Castle or Lancing) or on hilltops (Harlow). Many such shrines are similar in size and plan to contemporary domestic round-house structures and it is usually only the presence of the Roman temple which allows for a religious interpretation.

Excavations have shown that shrines were often placed inside a sacred enclosure, or *temenos*, which might be defined by a ditch or a hedge. It may be that for some sacred sites such as bogs, springs or groves, a line on the ground or a plough furrow may have been enough to define the sacred space. A bank or palisade would also have the function of screening off the sacred interior from the profane. The entranceway where the boundary was crossed was often architecturally elaborated to emphasise the rite of passage. At Gournay-sur-Aronde, Picardy, two enormous heaps of cattle skulls and weapons were placed in the ditch terminals (Brunaux 1988, 27) suggesting that an accumulation of sacred power at the entrance was intended. The entrance was also marked at Hayling Island where coins and metalwork (bronze and iron) were heavily concentrated in the southern entrance ditch terminal (King and Soffe 1998, 43 fig. 3). Although very few Iron Age temple enclosure entrances have been excavated it would appear that the placing of special deposits in ditch terminals at the entrance to religious sites was a common practice.

Inside the enclosure, the most sacred area was at the centre which appears normally to be marked by a post, a building and, nearly always, by pits. The dimensions of the pits seems to have been extremely variable. Central pits have been excavated at a number of sites in England and France. The pits can be enclosed by the shrine itself e.g. Hayling, and have been found to underlie a number of Romano-Celtic temples e.g. Harlow, Uley, Vendeuil-Caply and Gournay. The examples in Picardy often have a large central pit surrounded by a horseshoe arrangements of pits (e.g. Vendeuil-Caply, Saint-Maur and Fesques). It is probable that such pits were believed to have functioned as gateways into the earth, giving access to the earth deities. They have been found to contain rich assemblages of specially selected votive material.

Hayling Island is probably the best example in England of an Iron Age temple (King and Soffe 1994; 1998). Here an early Roman circular temple and its precinct was found to overlie an Iron Age temple. Around the middle of the 1st century BC a rectangular enclosure was constructed. The enclosure was focussed on a pit with which the entrances were aligned. Towards the end of the Iron Age the enclosure was replaced by a circular building, closely resembling a round-house, which was situated within a fenced

temenos. In the centre of the building, which faced east, was the large pit. It was only the central pit and the votive offerings from the courtyard around the structure that differentiated it from a typical domestic building (King and Soffe 1998, 39). The temple survived until the Roman conquest after which it was replaced by a substantial stone temple of similar plan but larger in size. The stone footings of the Roman temple lay exactly concentric with the smaller Iron Age building.

There was no sign of pre-Iron Age activity found at the site but, a number of Neolithic/Bronze Age scrapers and a Bronze Age spearhead (notably from the northern post-hole of the entrance to the circular shrine) were deliberately deposited with other artefacts and must have been brought to the temple as votive offerings. A Mesolithic axe and a Neolithic polished axe from the topsoil may also be of significance.

The deposition of axe heads and much earlier artefacts has been observed at many Romano-Celtic temples. The Salisbury Hoard (Stead 1998) must be seen in a similar light. In this case an Iron Age hoard also contained a large number of Bronze Age weapons, toilet instruments and jewellery.

An analysis of the animal bone at Hayling Island shows that pig and sheep were the dominant species with cattle poorly represented. The parts of the carcass represented were selected with sheep mostly being represented by upper limb bones and jaws, and pig by mandibles and maxillae followed by upper limb bones; pig extremities were rare. Fragments of human bone were found in a number of votive contexts. Brooches, other personal items, weaponry, pottery and coins were commonly found in the votive deposits and show clear zonal patterning. The coins were clustered around the entrance to the enclosure, particular around the southern ditch terminal, immediately inside the entrance. Coins were also clustered around the entrance to the shrine (particularly in its southern gulley) and in the south-west corner of the enclosure. No coins were found in the central pit. Brooches and other items of adornment were found in the same areas as the coins but also in the central pit indicating that, at Hayling, the pit was not an appropriate place to deposit coins. The deposition of the iron work, notably nails and weaponry, clearly

shows that the south-east area of the enclosure was a focus for deposition. Human bone was concentrated in this area and also in the south-west corner of the enclosure.

At Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993) an earlier horseshoe shaped enclosure was extended by an L-shaped ditch. All the enclosure ditches were unusually wide and deep. In the middle of the enclosure was a large rectangular arrangement of post-holes at the centre of which was a pit. To the east and forming part of the enclosure boundary was a very large and irregular votive pit. Votive pits associated with the rectangular structure contained coins, personal items (especially brooches, rings and toilet articles), pottery, bone tools, iron spearheads and a series of human infant burials. In the early Roman period a rectangular Romano-Celtic stone temple was built directly above the rectangular structure and in exact alignment with it. The predominant bones at Uley were sheep/goat and domestic fowl. The excavators (Woodward and Leach 1993, 266) suggested that these species were selected during the Roman period because of their association with Mercury. As at Hayling a number of flint artefacts were recovered from Iron Age and Roman votive deposits suggesting a deliberate act of deposition. There was also evidence of metal working; an activity which has been identified at a number of Iron Age and Roman specialised religious sites. Several large unabraded pottery sherds and spear heads were recovered from the fill of the palisade trench of the early 1st century AD structure; these were interpreted as votive offerings (Woodward and Leach 1993, 306).

Another Iron Age shrine has been identified in England at Stansted (Brooks 1989) where around the middle of the 1st century BC a large ditch was dug enclosing approximately 80m^2. Six or seven round houses were constructed around the periphery of the enclosure while at the centre was a rectangular structure interpreted as the shrine. Outside the shrine were a pair of cylindrical votive pits containing a ring set with an onyx intaglio depicting Diomedes, and over 30 Roman brooches. A hoard of 51 potin coins came from the north-west part of the ring gulley of one of the round houses in which were two large pits. The pits and hoard may argue against a domestic function for the house and it is suggested that the entire enclosure was of a specialised religious significance not just the rectangular structure at its centre.

At Wanborough Iron Age remains have been recovered below a circular Roman temple adjacent to a Romano-Celtic temple (Williams 2000). A large number of Iron Age coins have been found around both buildings. Two phases of Iron Age activity were uncovered. The earliest consisted of the end of a large ditch containing three large pebbles and fragments of loom weights, thought to have been a votive deposit. When the ditch had silted up it was cut by a length of curving gulley. The gulley contained at least two lambs, one buried with a Colchester brooch and a palaeolithic axe. Nearby were four post holes and a scatter of five Iron Age coins. It is suggested that the curving galley represents part of a ring gulley of a round house-like shrine of the type seen at Hayling Island. As at Hayling the early Roman circular temple follows the line of the gulley. A hoard of nine Flavian bronze coins were found in the temple while outside the temple sceptre bindings, part of a gilded silver plaque and an enamelled trumpet brooch were found.

Three rectangular shrines were identified at Cadbury Castle by Alcock (1969, 1972). Building C1 was interpreted as a shrine because it was considered too large to be a granary and the presence of horse and oxen skulls in six pits in its vicinity. Building N5, a porched structure, was interpreted as a shrine because of a series of animal burials placed along the approach to it, and because of a number of large pot sherds from its bedding trench which were seen as votive offerings (Alcock 1970, 20). Quernstone fragments, copper alloy and iron objects from the bedding trench may also be considered votive. Quernstone fragments were also found in the post-holes of the LPRIA shrine on Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981, 46). A smaller rectangular building (N2) was interpreted as a shrine as it appeared to be a predecessor to N5 and to which it had similar dimensions and orientation. Alcock (1972) noted that although interpreted as a shrine N2 was similar in construction to a number of other buildings not interpreted as shrines. N2 and N5 were placed near an area of intensive metal working and there was a concentration of cauldron fragments and weaponry in the vicinity (Downes 1997, 150).

Alcock (1972) noted the similarity of the Cadbury plans to the inner part of a structure identified as a shrine at Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993). Here the identification of the shrine was based on its plan which consisted of a small rectangular

structure placed within a larger rectangular structure, and thus had a strong resemblance to the plans of Romano-Celtic temples.

The Iron Age sanctuary at Gournay-sur-Aronde has been examined in great detail. The sanctuary was positioned near to water towards the edge of an oppidum. The sanctuary consisted of a rectangular enclosure with rounded corners and had an elaborated entrance on its eastern side. The boundary ditch contained over 2,000 broken weapons and 3,000 animal bones. The objects had been gradually deposited during the life of the sanctuary. A group of pits at the centre of the enclosure formed a horse shoe around a large, oval pit (3m long). By the beginning of the 2nd century BC an oval building was constructed over the central pit. The oval building was later replaced by a rectangular wooden building, which was in turn replaced by a Romano-Celtic temple (Brunaux 1988, 13-16).

At Ribemont-sur-Ancre, a large cult site, originally interpreted as a gigantic villa, has been excavated. Here, near to a large Romano-Celtic temple, a large pile of human bone was discovered arranged around a central post. Spread around the bones was a collection of weaponry. The ossuary was placed in the corner of an enclosure (Brunaux 1988, 17) and more bone and weaponry was placed along the edge of the enclosure ditch. At Saint-Maur, as at the other examples from Picardy, the Iron Age sanctuary was only identified because of Gallo-Roman structures. In this example a rectangular enclosure with rounded corners was located within the Roman *temenos* area. The ditch was filled with iron weapons (Brunaux 1988, 24).

A very unusual LPRIA site, almost certainly of a ritual nature, has been excavated at Fison Way, Norfolk (Gregory 1992a). There was little evidence of domestic or agricultural activity on the site. Intensive occupation of the site appears to have begun in the middle Iron Age with areas containing concentrations of metal working debris, enclosures containing groups of pits, and possible funerary enclosures. The enclosures incorporated earlier ring ditches. Towards the end of the Iron Age a large square double ditch enclosure was constructed containing a single, massively constructed, circular building with an east facing entrance. The entrance to the enclosure was highly

elaborated. Closely associated with the main enclosure where smaller enclosures containing evidence for bronze working and the minting of coins; others appear to have been inhumation cemeteries. Around AD 50 the main enclosure was expanded and was now enclosed by a series of up to nine hedge or fence lines. The circular building had a west door added, and two more double door circular buildings were constructed to the north and south. Each of these two buildings was entered through elaborate circular precincts. The site appears to have gone out of use in the later 1st century AD but because of the closely associated late Roman Thetford treasure ritual activity continued may have continued. The excavator (Gregory 1992a, 197) strongly suspected the existence of a Roman temple near to the find spot of the treasure.

At most excavated examples of Iron Age specialised religious sites the sanctuary floor has been removed by later activity. However at Mirebeau, Cote d'Or, the original sanctuary floor is preserved, sealed below the destruction deposit of the Romano-Celtic temple. The floor was strewn with bones, pot sherds and small metal objects that were left were they had been originally placed. Larger objects had been collected up and sorted into piles (Brunaux 1988, 22). A similar picture of offerings carpeting the floor around the sanctuary has also been recognised at Hayling (King and Soffe 1998, see also Easton Maudit below p.172) where remnants of the original ground surface survived. The placing of quantities of votive material on the ground and not in it may explain the rich ploughsoil assemblages over Roman temple sites that prove so attractive to metal detector users (for example, see below p.213).

We have seen that for the majority of known Iron Age specialised religious sites (or temples) it is Roman occupation that points to their existence. Outside the study area a circular Iron Age temple is now known to lie beside the Romano-Celtic temple at Harlow (Bartlett 1987); while the Romano-Celtic temple at Maiden Castle is situated close to, what is interpreted as, a circular Iron Age shrine (Sharples 1991). At the majority of Romano-Celtic temples within the study area it is only finds of Iron Age pottery and/or coins that point to a pre-Roman antecedent. It is probable that at many Roman temple sites the Iron Age ritual focus lies undiscovered or unrecognised below the Roman structure.

At the examples cited above, cult structures have been constructed, aiding their identification, but there must have been a large number of sites where cult structures were not constructed. These included the natural places were a spirit was perceived to reside: such as a trees or water. Some of the ritual pits at the La Tène site at Bliesbrook (Moselle) contained tree trunks (Green 1992b, 213) and a tree is shown in the procession on the Gundestrup cauldron. It is known from classical authors that trees and groves where thought to possess a particular sanctity (e.g. Lucan, *Pharsalia* III, 420-50; Tacitus *Annals* XIV, 30; Dio LXII, 2), although in this case there is a *caveat* that we are dealing with authors of Roman date whose work is the product of a conquering external society (Webster 1995, 445). The importance of water can be demonstrated by the votive collections that have been recovered form such places as Lake Neuchâtel, Llyn Cerrig Bach, the source of the Seine, the Walbrook and also in classical literature (Strabo IV, 1, 3).

Only a small group of worshippers may have venerated these sites, many of which may have only been of local significance and the archaeological evidence for which may be a few votive offerings. If these offerings were placed on the original land surface they may now only exist in the ploughsoil. Examples where finds alone point to a cult site are Uffington Castle (Oxfordshire), Leagrave marsh (Luton), Evenley (Northamptonshire), Ashwell (Hertfordshire), Windridge Farm (St Albans) and more dramatically at Essendon (Hertfordshire). See below for a detailed discussion of these sites.

Continuity of cult sites from LPRIA to Roman times can be demonstrated by the growing number of Romano-Celtic temples that can be shown to have LPRIA antecedents, such as Hayling, Harlow, Saint-Maur, Ribemont and Uley described above. At these sites there is little evidence for a break in use of the site during the conquest period. At Romano-Celtic temple sites where structural evidence of pre-conquest occupation has not been identified, finds of Iron Age pottery and coins would strongly suggest an Iron Age predecessor. Examples of this from within the study area are Brigstock and Old Stratford (Northamptonshire), Thornborough (Buckinghamshire), Woodeaton (Oxfordshire), Baldock and Verlamion (see below). Continuity may also be

demonstrated where metal detector assemblages include a mixture of Roman votive objects and Iron Age material (see below).

We have seen that human and animal bone, pottery and coins have been found at every major Iron Age shrine within the study area with other notable examples at Harlow, Woodeaton (Goodchild and Kirk 1955), Thistleton (Lewis 1966) and Wanborough (O'Connell and Bird 1994).

Other Iron Age votive material also includes weapons and horse trappings. Iron spearheads seem particularly common (e.g. Hayling, Uley and Baldock (see below)). Model weapons are known from other sites (e.g. Woodeaton and the Salisbury hoard (Stead 1998)). The most common class of material fulfilling a votive function, excluding bone and pottery, are personal items, notably brooches.

Unfortunately, unlike Mirebeau the original ground surface around shrines has often been badly disturbed and consequently a major proportion of finds recovered from such places tends to be unstratified. Hence, we are faced with a quantity of potential votive material from the topsoil and it is only association and inference that enables a votive label to be attached.

In the Roman period the deposition of coins, bone and pottery continued, as did metal weapons. Jewellery and other personal items also continued as a popular form of offering and these were joined by miniature model objects purely designed for votive use, most notably axes and spears, the latter are often bent in an act of ritual damage. Various full-sized domestic objects were also deposited at temple sites. These include, querns, whetstones, and a variety of iron tools and knives. As in the Iron Age, brooches were the most common item of jewellery. Most brooches were of the type generally in fashion but some ornate brooches that are found on temple sites may have been manufactured specifically for religious and votive use. Examples are wheel brooches (which may signify the sun god), horse and rider brooches, shoe brooches, and possibly rosette and thistle brooches (see below pp.215-16). Sometimes it would appear that brooches, like weapons, were deliberately damaged prior to deposition. Other items of jewellery

include rings and bracelets and personal objects, such as cosmetic instruments, are commonly found.

The Roman coin assemblages from temples are often large but the deposition profile is similar to that seen at domestic sites. Although gold and silver issues may have been the preferred denominations for deposition in the 1st century AD, by the 3rd century any coins, including crude contemporary copies, were deposited suggesting little pre-selection, although an analysis of the coins from Bath did suggest that some obverse types may have been preferred.

However, there does seem to have been a high degree of pre-selection for many other categories of Roman small find and consequently a pre-selection of coin types can not be ruled out (see below pp.223ff). Flint implements, as we noted at Hayling and Uley, and fossils appear to have been specially collected for votive use as do unusual, exotic or rare items of metal work, pottery of glass. In the later case it may be that if an item was broken during the course of its life the remains could still be seen as being of special votive value especially if they bore zoomorphic or anthropomorphic symbolism. Sherds of decorative samian seem to have been selected where their images were appropriate and snakeshead bracelets seem to have been preferred over the more common twisted wire bracelets. Following the invasion copper alloy and pipeclay figurines also appear as do votive plaques. At many cult sites during the LPRIA and Roman periods there is evidence for metalworking (see below p.189).

From the foregoing it is clear that what constitutes a site of specialised religious character in the late Iron Age is not precise. Where buildings are involved they can take a variety of form but unlike Roman temples the structure alone does not point to a ritual function. Often we are led by Roman evidence when identifying such sites particularly where obviously votive material is involved such as statuettes, altars, *ex-voto* plaques and model objects, or the presence of a recognisable temple structure. The Iron Age material does not include objects whose primary function is votive but the selection of certain types of objects, the grouping of these objects, and the placing of the objects can be

taken to indicate a votive function. The common characteristics are summarised in the following table:

Site:	Fison Way	Brigstock	Gournay	Harlow	Hayling	Thornborough	Wanborough	Woodeaton	Uley
Iron Age structure	×	✓	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓
Roman temple	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Location	SR	HR	SR	HR	I	SR	SR	SR	HT
IA structure	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓
IA artefacts	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gate elaborate	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gate deposits	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Gate facing	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E
Votive assemblages	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Large pit/hollow	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?	?	✓
Human bone	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Brooches	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Toilet articles	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓
Weaponry	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	✓
Metal working	×	✓	✓	×	✓	×	×	×	✓
Stone tools	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Iron Age coins	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Quantity Roman coins	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
RB votive items	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 12: Summary of specialised religious sites that have produced Iron Age coins.
SR = sloping ground above river, I = island, HR = hill top above river, HT = hill top

The sample of sites used to form the above table shows that Iron Age/Roman specialised religious sites, or temples, tend to have easterly facing entrances with which special deposits are associated. The sites tend to be placed on the sides of hills, perhaps were springs once existed, over looking river valleys. The Iron Age shrines sampled above, with exception of Uley, are all circular, closely resembling round houses. Where the entrance to the sacred area has been excavated this is often architecturally elaborated. At the majority of sites there is evidence of ritual activity in the area before the late Iron

Age and long barrows or round barrows can seen to be commonly associated with later religious sites. Religious use of the site commonly extended into the Roman period and this is reflected in the occurrence of specific Roman votive objects such as miniature axes. Unusually large pits or hollows (natural or man-made) are frequently associated with these sites either below or next to the structure of the shrine or temple.

At most sites material has been carefully selected and deposited, often in pits, as votive assemblages. These assemblages can be identified as votive because of the variety of high status or by the unusual nature of the finds they contain. Fragments of human bone found on the sites may be intended to give an hereditary bond to the location or be connected with ancestral worship. Fitzpatrick (1997, 83) has suggested that the placing of ancestral remains in boundary ditches ensures tradition and continuity by reproducing that tradition and also help to reaffirm the differences between the 'social' and 'natural' worlds.

Brooches are always found at religious sites and, frequently, toilet articles. Weaponry is associated with the sites to a lesser extent but there is clearly an association when weapons are rarely found on domestic settlements; it may be that it depends on the nature of the deity being worshipped. Stone tools are also commonly found on religious sites and they are more likely to come from Iron Age and Roman contexts than Neolithic or Bronze Age contexts. This may be a reflection of the large number of Iron Age and later contexts excavated compared with the rarer earlier features or, as with fossils, it may suggest that the material has been especially collected for votive use. The majority of the objects were placed around the structure of the shrine and not in it.

Metal working is an activity which also seems to be associated with religious sites with the process taking place at a number of sites in our sample. We cannot be certain, because of the changing methods of archaeological excavation, that metalworking did not take place at a particular site because no evidence was recovered for it; possibly evidence for metal working was not recognised or was present in an unexcavated part of the site. It is probable that metal working may have been seen as a magical transformation or metamorphosis of metal or ore into a new or different object and it may be that ritual and production went hand in hand in pre-industrial societies. Hingley

has suggested that this transformation may have been seen to be associated with regeneration and agricultural production (Hingley 1997, Haselgrove and Millett 1997). The religious significance of metal working is emphasised by the importance of smith gods known in Romano-British iconography, such as the silver plaques dedicated to Vulcan from Barkway, Hertfordshire. Therefore, it is likely that metalworking was an activity that was required to have been overseen by the gods (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 285).

8.3 Site analysis

The analysis is divided into three main sections. The first examines the well explored sites that have produced a number of coins, the second examines excavations that have produced only single or a couple of coin finds, while the third section looks at casual, mostly metal detecting assemblages, from sites that are poorly understood archaeologically. Within each section the sites are organised by county and parish.

Within the present study area are a number of well known and archaeologically well explored Iron Age and Roman sites that have each produced several Iron Age coins that, because of the level of recording, can be closely located on the resulting excavation plan. Such sites are described in detail below. The site location of each coin is analysed and the significance of any observed geographical patterning discussed to determine possible factors for the presence of a coin in a given locality. It may be possible to see if the site was of a specialised religious nature by comparing it to the common characteristics of the recognised religious sites described above.

8.3.1 Verlamion.

The name Verlamion has been used throughout to denote the pre-Roman precursor to the Roman town of Verulamium. The name Verlamio appears on coins and is thought to be the locative of Verlamion. Activity in the area may only have commenced towards the end of the late Iron Age as only the later phases of Iron Age coinages are present (see fig.22); the North Thames, Lx issues, comparatively common at Braughing/Puckeridge being noticeably absent.

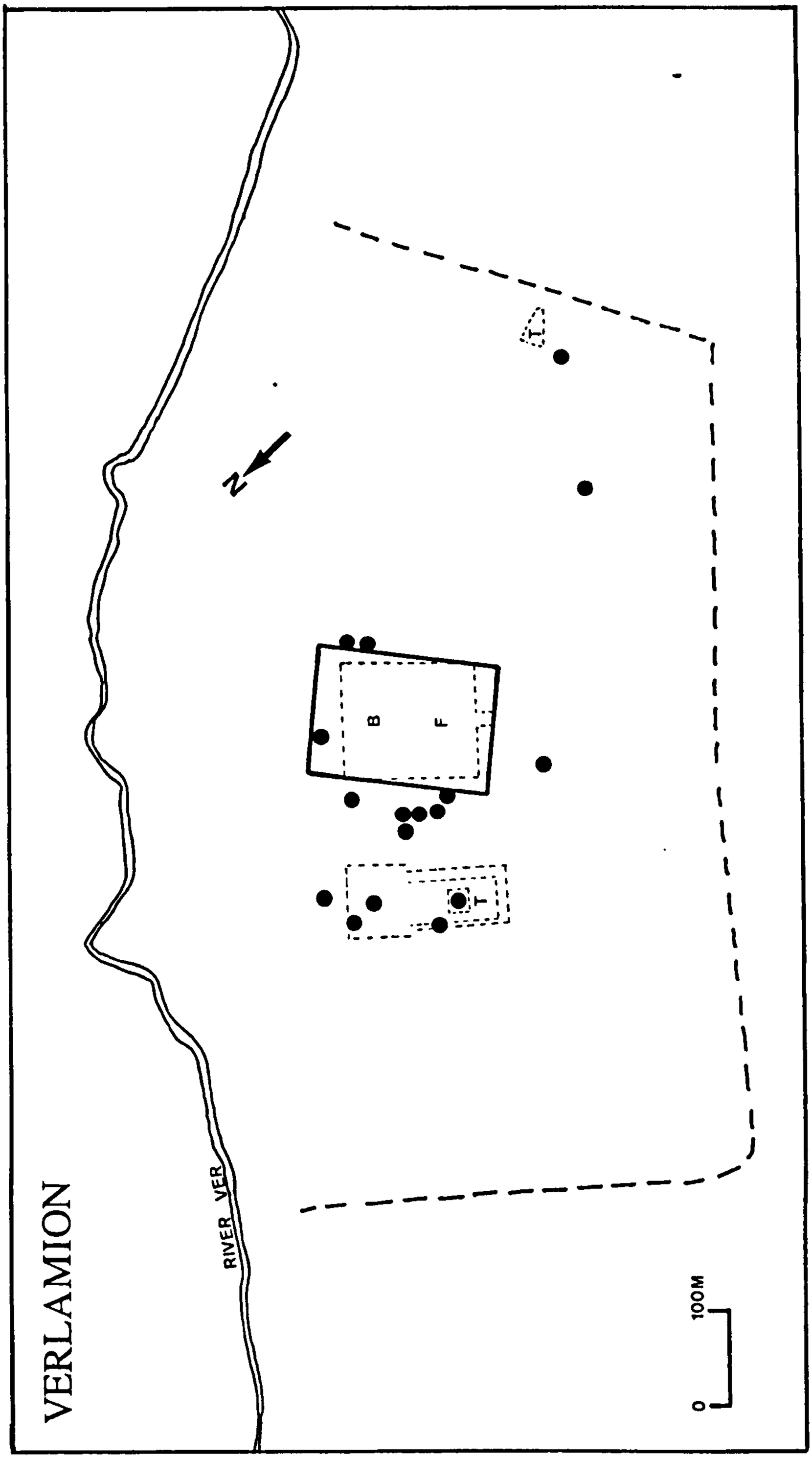


Fig.27: Plan of Verlamion showing position of coin finds and the St Michaels enclosure. The position of Roman temples (T) and the Basilica (B) and Forum (F) complexes are also marked. The large dashed line (the so-called 1955 ditch) defines the town in the late 1st century AD.

In the 1930s Wheeler first drew attention to a complex system of late Iron Age earthworks in the vicinity of St Albans (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 10-16) which appear to focus on Verlamion. Many of the earthworks define enclosures or drove ways, while some, such as New Dyke and Devils Ditch appear to be major land boundaries.

The majority of the enclosures, notably Prae Wood, Gorhambury and Windridge Farm (see below) are positioned on the edge of a plateau on the south side of the Ver valley. Only one enclosure is known occupying a similar plateau edge position to the north of the river; this site is the ceremonial site excavated at Folly Lane (Niblett 1999, and below). The one exception to a plateau edge location is a ditched enclosure underlying the Roman forum and basilica complex (Frere 1983, 193), known as the St Michael's enclosure, it is unusual both in its large size and being positioned on a low level gravel terrace on the flood plain. The enclosure is separated from the river by a marsh. The enclosure is clearly exceptional as emphasised by the status of the Roman use for the site (see below). From its position the enclosures at Folly Lane, Gorhambury and Prae Wood could all be clearly seen.

Accurately provenanced find spots for Iron Age coins in the Verlamion area are concentrated on the St Michael's enclosure (fig.27), with smaller concentrations at Gorhambury (Neal, Wardle and Hunn 1990), the King Harry Lane cemetery (Stead and Rigby 1989), the Hills Field cemetery (Anthony 1968) and Folly Lane. There have also been a number of coins recently found with metal detectors at Windridge Farm.

The concentration of coin finds around the St Michael's enclosure may be a function of the scale or archaeological excavation in this part of the Roman town yet other well explored areas (notably the large area covered by *insulae* I-VII) have produced only two coins while the well explored area covered by the forum and basilica itself, both of which lie within the St Michael's enclosure, did not produce any coins. The enclosure is unusual not only for its coin finds but also because of the concentration of metal working debris surrounding it (underlying insulae XIV and XVII). Such evidence is lacking from Prae Wood, Gorhambury and Folly Lane. Interestingly evidence of other signs of industry such as spinning and pottery manufacture noted at the other sites is lacking at St Michael's. Pellet mould fragments have been found in the vicinity of the enclosure with a

marked concentration to the west of the enclosure. Pellet moulds, probably used in the manufacture of coins, are known to be associated with the important religious and ceremonial centre at Fison Way, Norfolk (Gregory 1992a) and we have noted above the important association of metal working and religious activity.

Metal working and coins are associated elsewhere in the study area notably Ashton, Northamptonshire and Cow Roast, Hertfordshire (see below) while outside the study area a notable example is Sheepen, Colchester where excavations have produced a large assemblage of coins, evidence for metalworking and pellet moulds. Furthermore, at least four temples existed at Sheepen during the Roman period pointing strongly to a high degree of religious activity at the settlement.

We have noted above that St Albans lies on the boundary of several coin distributions and is therefore likely to have been on or near important cultural/political boundaries during the late Iron Age, which may also account for its monumental ditch systems. It is possible that Devils Dyke originally ran continuously between the rivers Lea and Ver (Hunn 1992).

Two of the coins recovered from the area immediately to the west of the St Michael's enclosure (Frere 1983, 273; Haselgrove 1987, 440-1) are associated with an area on which timber-framed building 4 was later constructed. Building 4, dating to the late 2nd century AD, comprised a square room surrounded on three sides by three further rooms. At the centre of the square room was a large whicker lined pit, which was regarded by Frere (1983, 269) as later than the room, as he could not explain its function in a domestic setting. If the structure is seen as a square shrine with central pit then the pit can be seen to have a relevant purpose. About 5m to the north of the building part of an Iron Age ditch was excavated that, running parallel to the north-west wall of building 4 may represent an earlier enclosure on the site. Three cremations were placed in the top of the ditch one of which had a coin of Tasciovanus in its fill. A nearby pit, which contained a gold ring, seven dog skulls and a complete dog's skeleton, should be seen as votive.

Immediately to the west of building 4 and the St Michael's enclosure a large temple complex developed during the Roman period, its significance being such that a theatre

was later added. The number of Iron Age coins, one of which was found below the cella itself, and pre-conquest brooches, strongly suggest that the Romano-British temple had an Iron Age precedent. A probable late Iron Age votive pit was excavated 75m to the west of the enclosure (Frere 1983, 273).

It is postulated that a cult site grew up at Verlamion based upon the presence of the marsh and nearby river. The close association with a major boundary, formed by the dykes and perhaps the river itself, providing the necessary requirements for an important cult site to develop. The majority of the coins come from the west of the enclosure where the metal working is known to have taken place i.e. to the south-east of the temple complex. Hingley (1997, 13) has noted that smithing is often located to the south-east of settlements and suggests that this is may have association with the rising sun and cosmological beliefs. Other coin finds from around the enclosure are geographically closely associated with the enclosure ditch in which they may have originally been deposited and with which they may be ritually associated.

The cult and ceremonial centre represented by the temple and the enclosure was of such significance that it became the heart of the Roman municipium, the enclosure itself being replaced by the forum and basilica which hints at the function of the enclosure as a ceremonial area of territorial importance. It may be that the tribal elite congregated at the enclosure to decide upon matters of tribal importance just as the Roman elite met at the basilica. Perhaps a site positioned on a boundary may have in some way been seen as neutral or perhaps in some way closer to proprietary gods. A number of major religious sites are known to have developed on cultural boundaries (see below). The parallels with Gosbecks, Colchester, which also appears to have been an important Iron Age religious centre that during the Roman period possessed a temple and theatre complex (Crummy 1997, 16), should not be over emphasised; and just as with the St Michael's enclosure there is a large rectilinear enclosure adjoining the temple at Gosbecks, although here interpreted (without evidence) as 'Cunobelin's farm' (Crummy 1997, 17).

It may be that such a cult centre gradually developed from a site of localised importance into a recognised focus for a territorial grouping. The leading elite finally decided to take up residence (at sites like Gorhambury) reinforcing the links between the

enactment of religious festivals and the reproduction of political power (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 284-85).

Directly across the river from the St Michael's focus was the site at Folly Lane (Niblett 1999). It is highly significant that a causeway extends from the temple down to the river, which it presumably crossed, and continued in a straight line to Folly Lane complex indicating the close relationship between the two sites. During the late Iron Age a large rectangular enclosure was constructed near the centre of which was a large irregular pit (Nibblett 1999, 13). In the mid first century AD the earlier enclosure was replaced by another rectangular still with the large pit at its centre. The clay and gravel from the pit had been heaped into a mound on its north-west side. On top of this mound a rich collection of metal work, human and animal remains had been burnt. These burnt remains had then been buried in another large pit 5m to the north, and the whole deposit was buried under a large stack of turf. The original pit and the mound alongside it were later covered by a Romano-Celtic temple that faced the turf stack (Bryant and Niblett 1997, Niblett 1999). A series of 12 post-holes arranged in a horse-shoe below the edge of the turf stack may represent the remains of an Iron Age shrine.

The site fulfills many of the characteristics we have noted that typify a specialised religious site. The entrance to the temple enclosure was elaborate (which here faced south-west i.e. towards the St Michael's complex) and was further marked by special deposits both in the ditch terminal and immediately inside the entrance. Fragments of human remains were incorporated into deposits in a number of features.

As with many religious sites activity on the site can be traced back into prehistory and fragmentary remains of Bronze Age activity were recovered. There was extensive evidence for Roman iron working on the site, particularly in the area to the south-east of the temple. We have already noted the possible ritual significance of a south-east location for iron working. Two Iron Age coins were recovered during the excavations both closely associated with the ritual enclosure. One came from a post-Roman pit, while the other came from a midden overlying the mid 1st century AD temple enclosure ditch.

Thirteen coins were recovered during the excavations at Verulam Hills Field, where an enclosure containing at least 21 LPRIA cremations with few grave goods was uncovered. The cemetery lies about 1km from the St Michael's enclosure, immediately outside the south-east gateway of the Roman town. A later Roman cremation cemetery on the same site contained what the excavator (Anthony 1968 and SMR 6737) termed a basilican temple arguably indicating a ritual focus for the cemetery. The site find spots for the coins were poorly recorded. One came from a grave fill, one came from a pit but, more significantly, three appear to come from the enclosure ditch. The others are described as scattered throughout the site in the lower levels of ditches and in the topsoil over burials. From our analysis of the type of features coins were deposited in it is unlikely that the coin in the grave fill or the coins from above the burials were deliberate grave offerings. Neither is it likely, following the argument of this thesis, that the majority of the coins are residual. Therefore we must assume that the presence of a number of coins above the graves is deliberate, perhaps helping to demarcate, or protect, certain graves or symbolically marking the cemetery area in a ritual way.

Another ditched cemetery has been excavated at King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1989), which lies immediately below the Prae Wood earthwork enclosures 1km to the south-west of the St Michael's enclosure. Here over 175 cremations were recovered with accompanying grave goods frequently consisting of pottery vessels or brooches. Many of the burials were placed within enclosures. Thirteen Iron Age coins were recovered from the excavations. We have observed that it is unusual for coins to be associated with burials yet ten coins of the same type were buried as a primary grave good in one of the cremations. The grave, which was accompanied by a brooch, local wares and imported pottery, was for a child and a female adult. The position of the burial, which was on the edge of a cluster of burials in the corridor between the main burial enclosures may be significant as may be the probable mother and child burial. Two other coins came from the lower fill of a boundary ditch that probably surrounded the cemetery; the coins forming part of a ritual boundary deposit. Finally, one coin was found unstratified near the corner of the cemetery and therefore its origin, perhaps from a nearby boundary, is not known. Another major LPRIA cemetery at St Stephens (Niblett 1999, 400) did not produce any coins emphasising that the coins associated with the burial at King Harry Lane were unusual and not the norm.

Only one coin was found during Wheeler's exploration of Prae Wood (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936). A couple of metal detector finds are said to come from the area of Prae Wood but definite provenance for these has not been established. Consequently it would appear that the activity that took place within the enclosures of Prae Wood, such as weaving and coarse pottery production, and arguably lower status settlement than sites such as Gorhambury, were not of an appropriate standing to warrant the presence of coins.

At Gorhambury (Neal *et al* 1990) excavations revealed what has been interpreted as an elite farmstead, positioned on the plateau edge c.1.5 km north-east of the St Michael's enclosure. By the end of the Iron Age the site (fig.28) consisted of a double enclosure which could only be entered by crossing the New Dyke, which forms part of the Verlamion dyke system. Each of the two enclosures would have to be entered through substantial gateways. They were both entered form the east, and were orientated east-west. Nearly 100% of enclosure B was excavated, including the ditch between the enclosures, and about 80% of enclosure A. The boundary ditch was sampled with about 90% being excavated in enclosure A and 40% in enclosure B. All gateways were completely excavated. As with the other sites under discussion the location of the coins is not random and a patterning is clearly visible.

Fourteen coins were recovered during the excavations. The three coins recovered from the boundary ditches were located at ditch terminals. Significantly, two were closely associated in the south ditch terminal at the entrance to enclosure while the other, from the entrance to enclosure B, was found in the north ditch terminal. We have noted that late Iron Age people did differentiate north/south and east/west when making special deposits and here we may be seeing a deliberate transposition in selection of terminal between the two enclosures, perhaps intending to symbolically demark a change in activity between enclosures A and B. Only one other coin was recovered from enclosure A. This coin was associated with building14, a U-shaped structure with cobbled entrance. Immediately behind the building was a large pit with evidence of burning. The coin was found in the cobbling in front of the building which was interpreted by the excavator (Neal *et al* 1989, 31) as an animal pen. The association of a coin with such activity does not fit with the emerging picture of coins being associated, probably

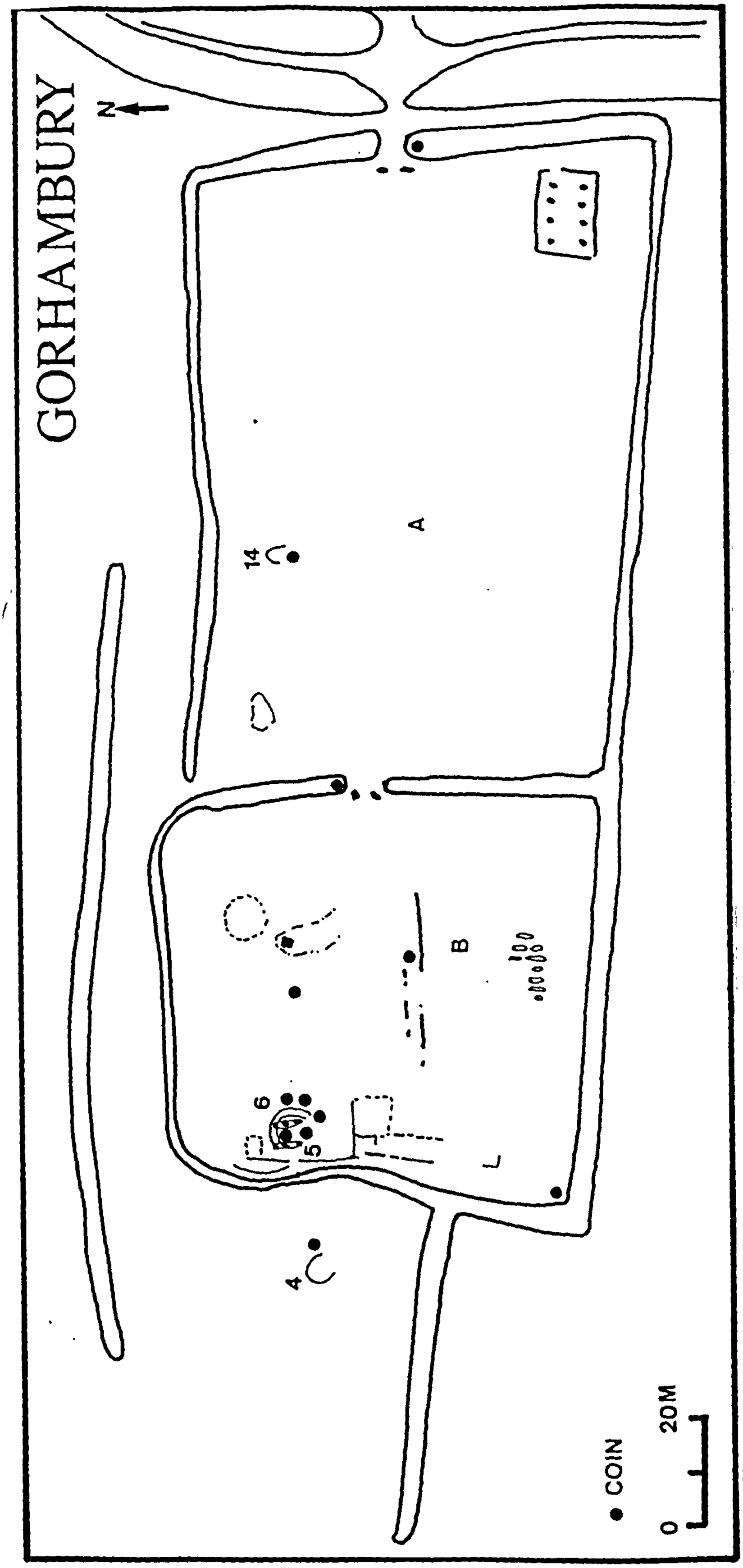


Fig.28: Plan of Gorhambury in the late Iron Age showing position of coin finds.

deliberately so, with high status religious activity. The closely associated large pit containing ash and burnt remains could be seen in a ritual way but no other deposits associated with the building could be interpreted in a votive way. The coin may therefore be, a non-deliberate, accidental loss, although attention is drawn to the U- form of the structure which is parallelled at the Iron Age shrines excavated at Uley, Gloucestershire (Woodward 1992, 34), and Gournay-sur-Aronde, France (Brunaux 1988, 13).

If the transposition of coins in the ditch terminals at the entrance to each enclosure denotes a change in activity then the larger number of coins from enclosure B would suggest that it was in this enclosure that ritual activity was particularly focussed as emphasised by the number of coins deposited within it

In enclosure B one coin is closely associated with south-west angle of the boundary ditch. Another coin was found to the west of building 30, a substantial late Roman stone structure in front of the villa which was positioned towards the rear of enclosure B. Importantly the only late Iron Age feature at this location was a large square pit (1.7m square) containing two brooches and considered by the excavator to have functioned as a water tank marking the site of a spring (Neal *et al* 1989, 30); the latter could provide a religious focus and importance for the enclosure. A further coin, from the centre of the enclosure, overlay the late Iron Age entrance road leading from enclosure A.

The majority of coins from the site were associated with buildings 5 and 6, both dated to the LPRIA, which lay immediately to the north of the later villa complex at the rear of enclosure B. Both these buildings could not be satisfactorily interpreted by the excavator. Building 5, a substantial 6-post rectangular structure nearly 5m square, was interpreted as a granary. The rectangular building is similar in form to the structures identified as shrines at South Cadbury. It was replaced by building 6, a circular structure with cob walls 1m thick surrounding a central hearth, a cist and shallow pit. Circular buildings (or 'round houses') were often employed as shrines towards the end of the Iron Age in much of the study area (see Baldock and Easton Maudit below) at a time when rectangular houses were becoming a more typical house design, although residential circular structures continued to be built at some places notably Stanwick, Northamptonshire (D. Neal pers. comm.). There were two Republican *denarii* also found in the same area,

coins which are generally rare as site finds. The concentration of Iron Age and Republican coins, together with the unusual form of the buildings would suggest the buildings were not of a basic agricultural utilitarian type, but of some status and significance. As it would appear that the buildings were not residential or agricultural it is proposed that they were shrines, a conclusion now reached by its excavator (D. Neal pers. comm.). It is possible to see the cist as having a similar function as the pits seen in late Iron Age shrines.

The number of Iron Age coins around buildings 5/6 is further emphasised by the complete absence of any other metallic small find from the area clearly indicating that the buildings were not used as a receptacle for rubbish with which the coins could have been included and also demonstrates that the coins must have been selected in preference to other material.

The last coin to be discussed from Gorhambury was found to the west of enclosure B, the find spot is associated with a post built rectangular building (4) that faced buildings 5 and 6, and to which the excavator believed the building was connected. Gorhambury is one of many instances were Iron Age coins have been found linked with sites later occupied by the type of substantial Roman building termed a villa (see also Bancroft, Stanwick and Easton Maudit below).

If we are to view enclosure B as a ritual enclosure containing a shrine (buildings 5/6) then a special deposit should be sought in the entrance way which is elaborated as at known religious sites. Indeed if we look at the copper alloy small finds then we find that in the northern terminal of the entrance ditch the coin was accompanied by a Nauheim derivative brooch, a stud with niello inlay, a spatula and two handles. The assembly from the southern terminal was even richer containing two Nauheim derivative brooches, a Colchester derivative brooch, a crescent pendent, a ring with intaglio, a needle, hook-and-loop fastener, a spoon, a key lock and a bolt.

Taken as a whole the archaeological from enclosure B is summarised in the following table:

Pre Iron Age	Roman temple	Location	IA structure	IA artefacts	Gate elaborate	Gate deposits	Gate facing	Votive assemblages	Large pit/hollow	Human bone	Brooches	Toilet articles	Weaponry	Metal working	Stone tools	Iron Age coins	Quantity Roman coins	RB votive items
✓	X	S	✓	✓	✓	✓	E	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 13: Gorhambury compared to characteristics of known Iron Age religious sites.

Enclosure B at Gorhambury can be seen to fulfill many of the characteristics we have noted as being present at a the majority of specialised Iron Age religious cult sites. The Roman objects that may be of a votive nature include a cast bronze eagle's wing and the hand of a figurine holding a bunch of grapes. The only obvious category of material lacking is weaponry but here we could be dealing with a peaceful water cult. In all other respects the main difference between this and certain cult sites is that here a villa was constructed during the Roman period rather than a temple.

8.3.2 Baldock

Baldock seems to have been a focus for burial and ritual activity within a complex of settlement, cemeteries and burials lying on the northern spine of the Chilterns in north Hertfordshire. The complex can be seen as comparable to the Verlamion complex. A distinctive feature of the Baldock complex, which includes two hill forts, is the large number of multiple linear ditches between 0.5 and 1km long (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 278) which cluster along the Icknield Way and often run at right-angles to the road, and may suggest that the Icknield Way or the itself or the line of its route was a boundary as suggested by a variety of coin distributions (above p.130 and Chapter 7).

Extensive excavations (Stead and Rigby 1986, Burleigh 1995) show that late Iron Age Baldock covered at least 20 ha. The area of Iron Age activity (fig.29) was delimited on its eastern side by a string of burial enclosures and cemeteries sited along a low south-east to north-west ridge. This ridge and the use to which it was put in the later Iron Age was defined on the west by pre-existing pit alignment. On the west the settlement was again defined by burials but, from present evidence, not as many as on the east (Burleigh 1995, 103). In the decades preceding the invasion buildings were constructed to the west of the pit alignment and encroached onto the burial zone. Several probable

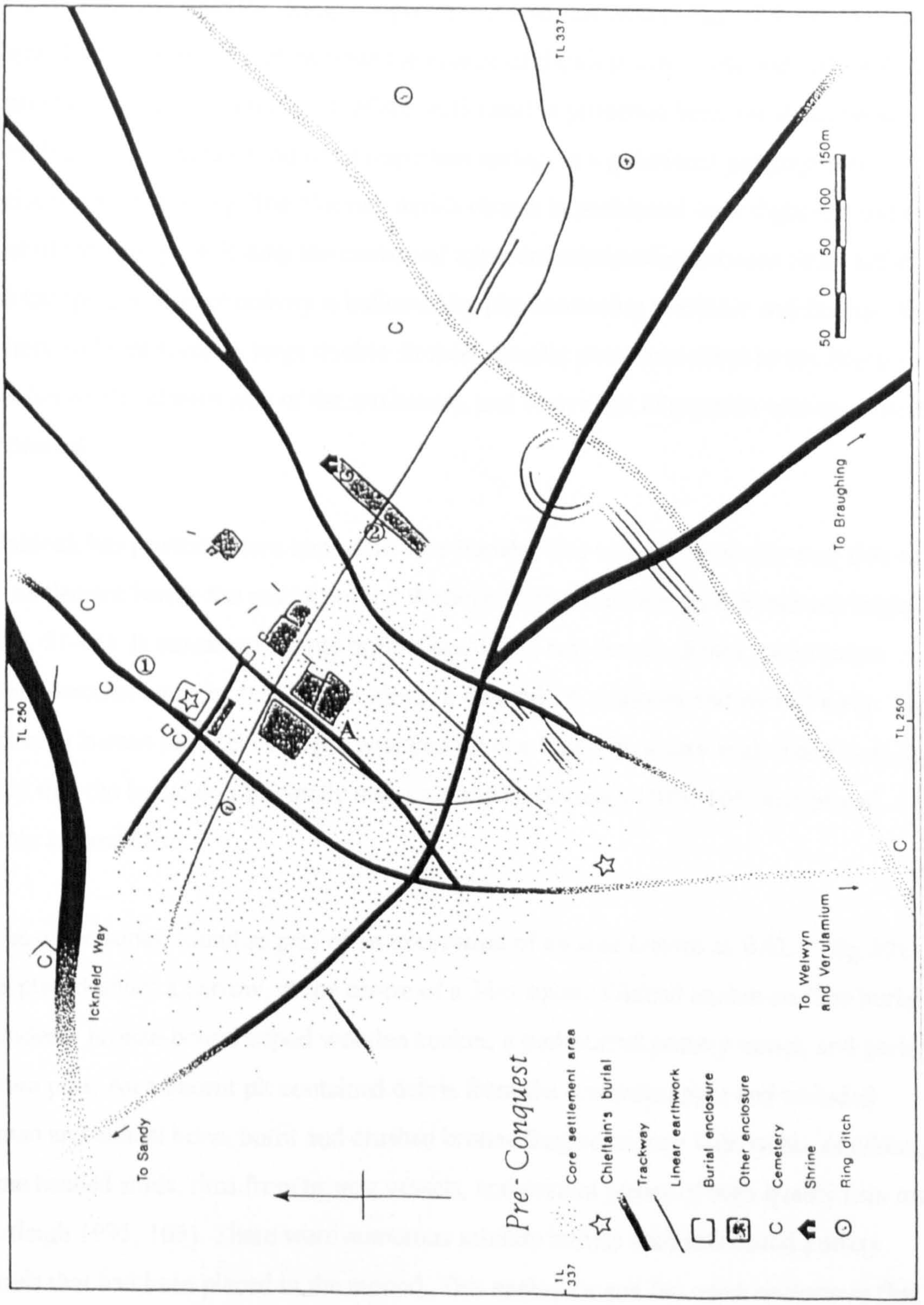


Fig.29: Plan of Iron Age Baldock showing sites mentioned in text (after Burleigh 1996a)

prehistoric track ways linking Baldock with Braughing, Sandy and Welwyn and onwards to Verlamion, converge with the Icknield Way at Baldock.

It is notable that Baldock, lying in a prominent position on the edge of the Chilterns, is located by the springs which provide the source of the river Ivel, a tributary of the Ouse. A ritual reason for the foundation of the settlement is proposed here, the focus being provided by the juxtaposition of an important spring, in a prominent geographical position, on a boundary. The Norman parish church is positioned on a slight rise to the west of the spring indicating the continued apparent relationship between ritual activity and the springs. Earlier activity is indicated by pits containing Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery and flint tools. A large double ditched, circular enclosure dated to the Bronze Age lies on the eastern side of the settlement, and several pit alignments converge on the settlement.

Baldock has produced two important elite burials. One was on the south-west side of the settlement beside the road from the Welwyn/Verlamion direction (Stead and Rigby 1986, 51-61). It contained a large bronze cauldron , two bronze dishes, two bronze bound wooden buckets, two iron firedogs, a Dressel 1A amphora and part of a pig. The cremated human remains had been wrapped up in a bearskin, a very high status item. It is likely that the burial was originally under a mound (Burleigh 1995, 105) and placed within an enclosure.

The other burial, found as part of an excavation of an area known as BAL1 (fig.30), was placed under a barrow, at the centre of a 34m square ditched enclosure. The burial included a bronze-bound tripod wooden bucket, a pedestalled pottery vessel, and parts of two pigs. An adjacent pit contained debris from the cremation pyre and included human and animal bone, burnt and crushed bronze fragments, one with traces of gilding, dome headed studs, rims from bronze vessels, and several pieces of high quality iron mail (Burleigh 1995, 105). There were numerous satellite burials with associated pottery vessels that had been placed in the mound. This enclosure and the other enclosures that were in sight of the pit alignment were aligned with it and had entrances to the south-east. Opposite this burial enclosure, on the other side of the road was a smaller cremation

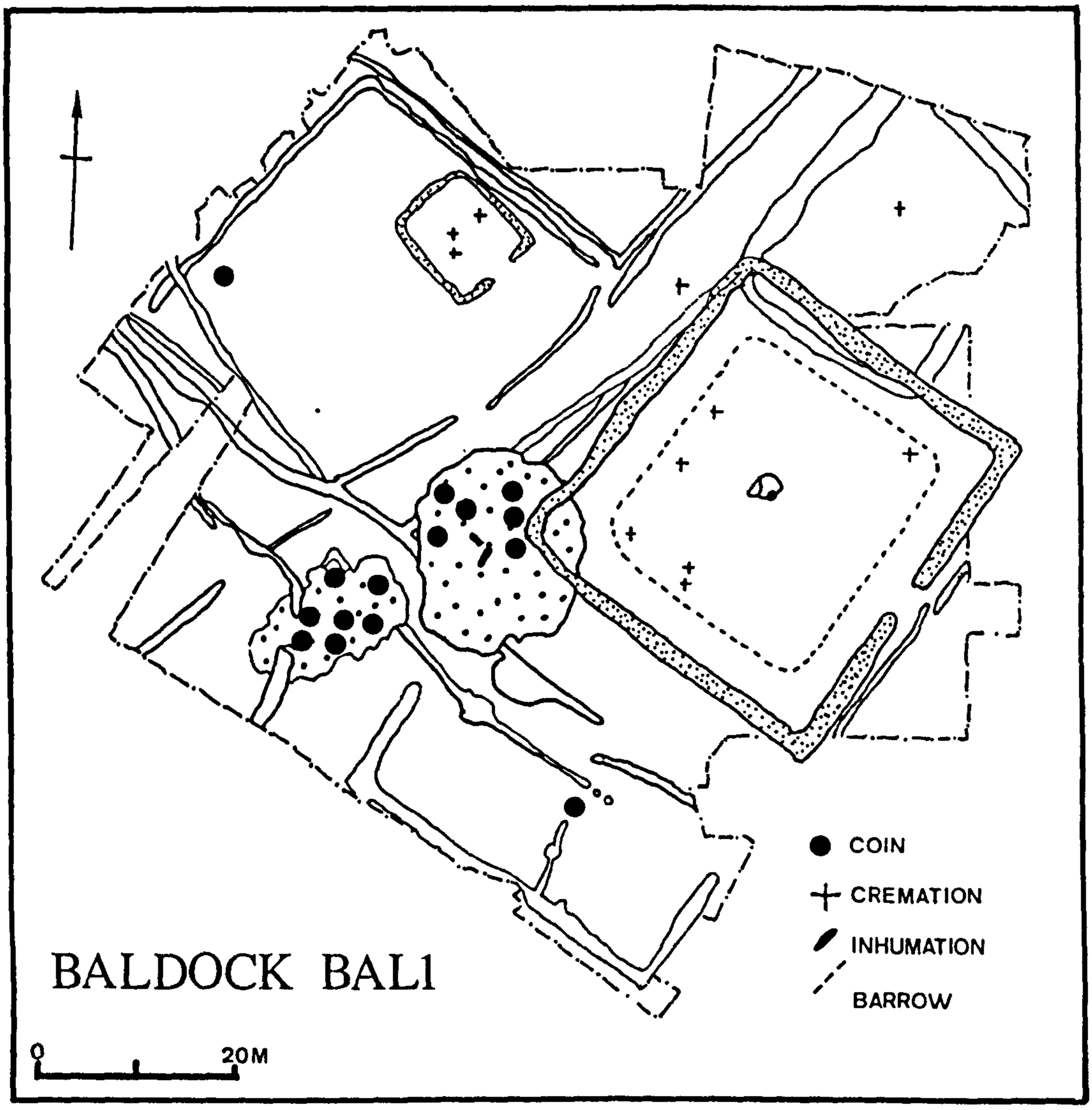


Fig.30: Plan of Baldock Area 1 (BAL1) showing position of coin finds

enclosure that later became incorporated within an extensive Roman inhumation cemetery.

Both the major and minor burial enclosures lie on a crossroads formed by the main Welwyn/Verlamion road and a trackway. The crossroads were positioned by a large solution hollow (fig.30) which was extended in size during the Iron Age and Roman periods until it encroached on the main burial enclosure. Given the extensive ritual use to which the hollow was put it is unlikely that its position by the crossroads and its proximity with an elite burial was accidental. The circular solution hollow was about 18m in diameter and was excavated down to about 2m. At its base were hill wash silts containing the weathered bone of at least three individuals (an adult, a child and a neonate). The earliest deposits have been dated to the 5th century BC (M. Stevenson pers. comm.). Silting continued in the hollow until c.50 BC when activity began to intensify. This intensification appears to be contemporary with developments in the neighbouring elite burial enclosure. Two late Iron Age inhumations had been set into the silt at the bottom of the hollow; a juvenile and an adult. The adult was buried, facing north, on its side with its hands drawn in front of its face. An object, interpreted as a sash, belt or whip, had been buried by the head and a carefully trimmed pot-base exhibiting a spiral design had been placed on the lower part of the spine (M. Stevenson pers. comm.). The burials had been sealed by a layer containing charcoal, burnt pottery, two spindle whorls, bronze slag, a circular sherd counter, a fragment of quern stone, burnt glass daub, and human bone plus sherds of a pedestal vessel and bowl. This layer was typical of the layers above most of which contained slag, human bone fragments, quantities of charcoal and burnt pot. These layers were frequently separated by remains of tamped floors, one layer contained a hearth with an associated post setting, pottery, a spindle whorl, animal bone and two brooches. During the 2nd century AD part of the solution hollow was dug out removing much of the later Iron Age and early Roman deposits and a dish shaped cobble floor was constructed. The floor was composed of highly sorted flints that had been arranged to produce a perfectly even surface. The hollow is particularly importantly to this study because apart from the 10 coins from the King Harry Lane burial only one other single feature within the study area has had a comparable concentration of coins.

Seven coins were recovered from late Iron Age and Roman levels within the hollow. Five of the coins were from well stratified layers where contextual information had been recorded. All of these layers were notable for their wealth of finds (see Appendix A for full details of material).

	IA coins	IA pot	GB pot & copies	RB pot	Samian	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Misc. metalwork	Glass	Oysters	Slag	Worked flint	Other small finds	Date
F543	1	✓													IA
F603	1	✓	✓				✓								IA
F473	2	✓	✓	✓	✓	3			3	✓		✓	✓		C2
F445	1	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓		✓				LR

Table 14: Small finds from the solution hollow

The association of Iron Age coins in features that also contain a variety of other small finds will be seen as a repeating picture. Furthermore, the majority of rich, and hence following our argument, probably votive deposits on the site, also contain coins. Attention is particularly drawn to the association of coins with personal items (such as brooches and jewellery and toilet articles) and with metalworking debris. The presence of worked flint will also become apparent as significant. The association of these deposits with hollows is another aspect that will emerge as a repeating picture. Hill (1997) has noted the appearance of toilet equipment in archaeological deposits during the 1st century BC, along with the proliferation of brooches, and suggests that this represents a shift from communal to individual emphasis. We have noted above that such a change in emphasis is also reflected in the switch from communal to individual votive offerings.

Significantly the other feature with the most non-hoard coins lies immediately next to the solution hollow on the opposite corner of the crossroads. Such a high concentration of coins in a two closely connected features is exceptional. This feature, loosely interpreted by the excavators as a possible quarry, represents an area of extremely unusual activity. Here the ground is a of a very disturbed nature and it would seem that the ground was repeatedly dug up (M. Stevenson pers. comm.). This suggested to the excavators an area of late Roman lime quarrying. It is postulated that this was an area

where particular ritual ceremonies took place, the resulting ceremonial material perhaps being removed and placed in the solution hollow.

As with the material associated with the coins in the solution hollow, the contexts containing coins recovered from the'quarry' area were similarly rich in finds.

	LA coins	LA pot	GB pot & copies	RB pot	Samian	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Misc. metalwork	Glass	Oysters	Slag	Worked flint	Other small finds	Date
F568	2	✓		✓	2									2	ER
F617	1	✓		✓		2							2	3	C2
F593	2	✓		✓	✓	2		✓				✓		2	C3
F635	1														?

Table 15: Small finds from the 'quarry'

Two other coins were found in the same general area. One came from the 2nd century fill of a pit which lay across an enclosure entrance near the trackway ditch. In the same layer (middle of fill) was half an oil lamp (unusual as a site find), a piece of decorated samian, a nail, a snail shell and some animal bone. In the upper fill were LPRIA and Roman sherds, including a piece of samian, animal bone and oyster shell, while in the lower fill were animal bones and fragments of a skull, a samian sherd, and several LPRIA and Roman sherds.

The other coin came from the upper fill of a late Roman inhumation. The burial at the base of the grave was intact but in the upper fill, along with the coin, was a redeposited collection of human bone, including a skull and jaw bone and a variety of LPRIA and Roman pot sherds including a samian sherd. The excavator suggested that in recutting the grave earlier burials were disturbed, although this may be the case, it is unlikely the coin is from a disturbed burial and there is no evidence that the grave was recut. It is possible that the adding of ancestral bones in the fill of a grave may have helped reaffirm clan ties in this world and the next or perhaps emphasised the grave as a gateway into the next world. Even though a large number of LPRIA graves and cemeteries have been excavated within the study area there is only one instance of coins being placed in a primary position within a grave (King Harry Lane) but at least eight instances of coins

coming from the fill, including another example from Baldock (Site A, A461; Haselgrove 1987, 416, A4; and below). A close parallel is from Kempston, Beds. (p.193), where human skeletal material was also recovered from the grave fill . The other examples are Hills Field and Verlamion (above), Odell and Skeleton Green (below). We have already discussed the ritual significance of metal working and its close connection with religious activity and it is important to note that in the Baldock BAL1 grave and also at Odell slag was found in the fill. Seen together with the human remains in grave fills, which is another characteristic of religious sites, we should see coins in grave fills as a deliberate addition.

About 100m to the south-east of BAL1 was an area excavated 1968-71 by Ian Stead known as Site A (Stead and Rigby 1986). In general the site consists of LPRIA enclosures, including two small burial enclosures, pits ditches and track ways and Roman enclosures, pits, ditches and a road. Stead recovered 20 coins from this area, of which four were unstratified. A further four were found when parts of the site were re-excavated by Burleigh (M. Stevenson pers. comm.) in 1983. The find spots of the coins were spread across the area of the excavation (fig.31). There is a notable concentration of six coins around the entrance to an enclosure dated to the 2nd century AD. The enclosure overlay a smaller LPRIA enclosure (the narrower ditches on fig.31), the latter incorporated an area on which the circular building (A) was later constructed (probably in the 2nd century). It is possible that the entrance to the earlier enclosure was in a similar position to that of the later one.

The entrance to the enclosure was marked by a substantial gateway indicated by four large post-holes. One of the coins was recovered from the northern ditch terminal. A quantity of other small finds came from the same context. It is likely that the assemblage (which also included a cylinder bead, an intaglio engraved with a lion, a knife, three spear-heads, two bronze studs, a Colchester brooch and a Hod Hill brooch) was a deliberate votive deposit. The ditch terminal on the south side of the entrance was unexcavated as was c.40% of the enclosure ditch but almost all of the internal features were fully excavated.

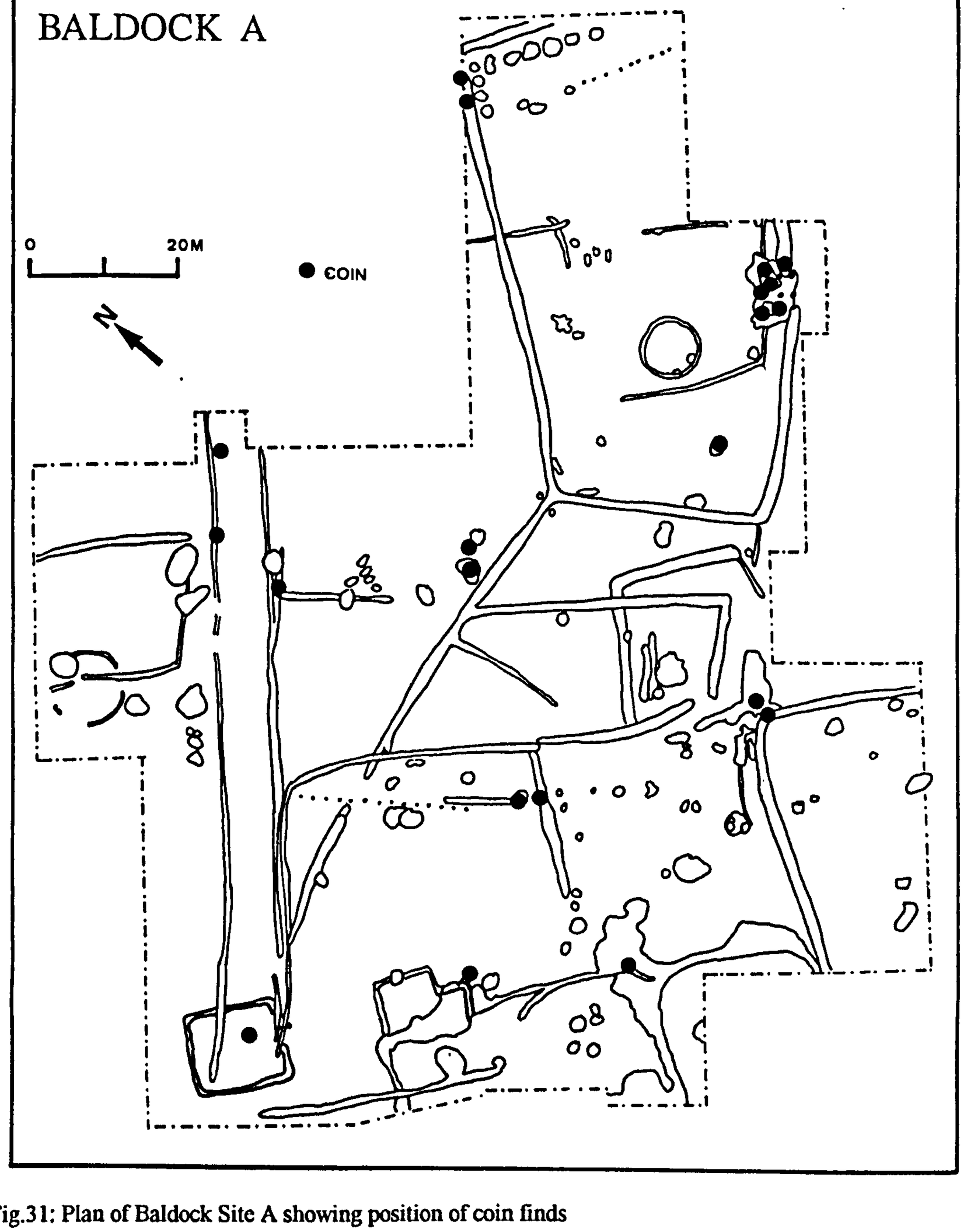


Fig.31: Plan of Baldock Site A showing position of coin finds

The entrance structure stood over a large hollow. Just as the solution hollow described above seems to been seen and treated in a special way it is unlikely that the presence of a large hollow in the entrance to a shrine is coincidental. Neither should it be seen as coincidental that an Iron Age coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 93 B18; Haselgrove 1987, 417 BA13) was recovered from the hollow which also contained a quern stone, sherds of Neolithic pottery, and part of a rare mould-blown glass face-flask. Cut into the hollow on its south side immediately inside the entrance was a well containing a very large amount of votive material including the model spear, a ritual rattle, a bronze statue fragment, four brooches, a hippo sandal, three spearheads, a nail cleaner, a spindle whorl, a bronze working crucible, a decorated bronze binding, a copper alloy terminal with a face design, a bone pin, a spatula and a quantity of bone including dog jaws. Stead did not recover any Iron Age coinage from the upper fill of the well but when the well was re-excavated in 1983 two Iron Age coins were found. The well was mirrored on the north side of the entrance by a shallow pit dated LPRIA by the excavator. This pit contained another two coins (Stead and Rigby 1986, 93-95 B15 and B34; Haselgrove 1987, 416 BA5), part of a stamped TR platter, an imported flagon, a decorated coarse ware bowl and a shallow bowl. The number of coins from the entranceway, and the other rich assemblage of finds, are clearly concentrated around, and symbolically marking, the entrance in a ritual way.

Another two coins were recovered from near the top of the enclosure ditch on its west side near the area of a sequence of votive pits. Only one coin was found inside the enclosure and came from a deep pit which, despite its size, contained no other finds. From the quality of other finds from within the enclosure, and the existence of numerous votive pits, it would appear that the enclosure ditch, and the entrance in particular, were seen as more suitable contexts for the deposition of coins than the enclosed area itself.

The very large quantity of small finds generally (one pit contained a spatula, three crucibles, 32 spear-heads, a carpenters knife and a samian sherd with graffito) and the obvious ritual nature of some of them (a pipe clay Venus, two votive axes, a bent model spear, a ritual rattle and part of a large bronze statue were amongst the finds) suggests that the circular building was a shrine and the ditch marked the sacred area of the *temenos*. Burleigh (1995, 179) has suggested that round-houses continued to be

constructed for secular purposes at Baldock until the 3rd century even though rectangular houses had been constructed there since the late Iron Age. It is probable that some Roman circular buildings interpreted as being residential were not houses but shrines or temples as appears to be the case here, with other examples at Easton Maudit (Northamptonshire, see below), Brigstock (Northamptonshire (Greenfield 1963)), Collyweston (Rutland (Knocker 1955)), Frilford (Berkshire (Lewis 1966, 188)), Hayling Island, Bancroft villa (Williams and Zeepvat 1994, and below) and Gorhambury (Neal *et al* 1990, and pers. comm.). The last five are certain temples and Iron Age coins have been recovered from all five sites. If we compare the characteristics of the site with the characteristics of specialised religious sites (table 16) it can be seen that the match is perfect.

RB votive items	✓
Quantity Roman coins	✓
Iron Age coins	✓
Stone tools	✓
Metal working	✓
Weaponry	✓
Toilet articles	✓
Brooches	✓
Human bone	✓
Large pit/hollow	✓
Votive assemblages	✓
Gate facing	E
Gate deposits	✓
Gate elaborate	✓
IA artefacts	✓
IA structure	✓
Location	✓
Roman temple	✓
Pre Iron Age	✓

Table 16: Characteristics of structure and deposits of '*temenos*' area, Baldock Site A

Immediately to the west of the '*temenos*' area was a large but shallow pit of which the earliest fill was dated to the LPRIA. A coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 95 B37; Haselgrove 1987, 417 BA10) came from near the top of the fill (dated AD 90-120). The pit, which was situated towards the eastern side of a mid 1st century AD rectilinear enclosure of unknown function, is very similar in dimensions to the pit containing two coins just inside the '*temenos*' entrance. This pit is also rich in its material content. The upper fill, apart from the coin, also contained a large butt beaker, half of a small dish, an ear scoop, and a large iron knife blade. In the middle fill of the pit was a TR platter, a fragmented TN platter with a maker's stamp and a complete Nauheim derivative brooch. At the bottom of the pit was an incomplete Hod Hill brooch. Only 3m to the north of the pit, but still in the same enclosure, another coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 90 B4; Haselgrove 1987, 417 BA13) was recovered from a very small pit which was otherwise void of finds.

Another coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 90 B2; Haselgrove 1987, 415 BA2) associated with this enclosure came from a LPRIA ditch that ran parallel to a road and formed part of the enclosure. The only other find from the ditch in the vicinity of the coin was a bronze spiral ear-ring, very similar in style to the LPRIA finger-ring from the votive hollow on site BAL1.

South of the '*temenos*' enclosure two coins were also found in close proximity. One coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 91 B10; Haselgrove 1987, 417 BA15) came from the south corner of a LPRIA enclosure ditch which was on the same alignment as the front of the *temenos* enclosure. The context contained a large group of pottery, consisting of twelve coarse ware vessels and a hand-made bowl with unusual combed decoration. Many of the vessels were complete and therefore the vessels are likely to represent a deliberate deposit in a corner of an enclosure which was abutted by several other enclosures. The division between these enclosures was blurred by a large hollow that was certainly present by the Flavian period. The hollow was interpreted by the excavator (Stead 1986, 421; 334) as a 'quarry'. The hollow also contained a coin, one of only two silver units found on site A (Stead and Rigby 1986, 91 B7; Haselgrove 1987, 416 BA8), and as with the majority of features in which coins are present, a wealth of other finds. These finds included a pre-Flavian samian bowl, eight TN sherds, a complete Nauheim Derivative brooch, an unfinished Colchester brooch, a pair of tweezers, an iron spear head, an iron ox-goad, a pot spindle whorl, an incomplete fired clay slab and part of a clay oven. A sherd of samian was scratched with the graffito BIIL.

Immediately to the west of the 'quarry' two coins were recovered (Stead and Rigby 1986, 93-95 B16, B33; Haselgrove 1987, 417 BA11-12). Each coin came from one of a pair of deep square, shaft-like pits (their fill dating to the 2nd century), which were positioned either side of an entrance to a subdivision at the back of an enclosure. The subdivision is positioned at the east end of the enclosure and is similar in form and position to a similar subdivision within the '*temenos*' area within which the large number of votive pits were excavated. Apart from a coin, the eastern pit contained a decorative samian sherd depicting a crane, part of a flagon, a thistle brooch, a decorative bronze bracelet terminal, a bronze split pin and a large worked flint. The pit on the west side of the entrance contained a complete bronze needle and pair of tweezers.

To the south of the entrance was another large hollow similarly interpreted as a 'quarry' as that described above and to which it was related by an enclosure. The two 'quarries' lying in opposing corners (see fig.31). The 'quarry' contained a variety of LPRIA and Roman material. The coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 91 B10; Haselgrove 1987, 417-18 BA15) itself came from the upper part of the 'quarry' fill which also included a *sestertius* of Crispina, two coins of Constantine I, an incomplete Nauheim derivative brooch, an ear-scoop, a nail-cleaner, a bronze slide key, five pot spindle whorls, two pot counters and the base of a glass unguent flask.

To the west were two LPRIA cremation enclosures. The easterly enclosure had a central urned cremation. The coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 96 B46; Haselgrove 1987, 416 BA14) was recovered from the upper fill of a LPRIA cremation pit positioned by the probable ditch terminal forming the north side of the entrance to the enclosure. The only other find from the fill was a piece of burnt daub. The entrance to the enclosure had been lost since the ditch at this point was expanded to form a 'quarry'.

A small burial enclosure, further to the east, underlay a Roman road. The coin (Haselgrove 1987, 418 BA16) was recovered from near the centre of the enclosure, and was from the road make-up itself which had removed any evidence for a principle central burial. The make-up in the immediate vicinity of the coin also included three late Roman coins, five sherds of decorated samian (each sherd individually depicting a hunt scene, two figures including a cupid, a lion, a bird, and Apollo in a chariot with uncertain animal below), and a *ligula*. It is not possible to determine if the coin was deposited in the road make-up as a primary deposit or redeposited from a disturbance of the burial enclosure.

Two other stratified coins were found on Site A. These were both associated with the Roman road. One (Stead and Rigby 1986, 95 B36; Haselgrove 1987, 416 BA9) came from the top of the fill of a Flavian road-side ditch, the other associated finds here were a Roman crucible sherd and two fired clay bricks. The other coin (Stead and Rigby 1986, 94 B23; Haselgrove 1987, 416 BA6) came from a shallow mid-1st century AD pit. The pit is more or less contemporary with the construction of the road. The other finds from the pit were the rim of a glass vessel and the upper part of a flagon. Contemporary to, and adjoining the pit was a similar pit containing an ear cleaner and another flagon neck.

Although the number of contexts that contain Iron Age coins and also a rich assemblage of other finds is notable, contexts that contain both Iron Age coins along with jewellery and toilet utensils is particularly striking and could be taken to indicate a linking between the two categories of find; perhaps suggesting that both were seen to have related symbolic properties when deliberately deposited together in the same context. We have already noted that jewellery and toilet utensils are often found on temple and other specialised religious sites suggesting a votive function. Woodward (1992, 74) has also suggested that jewellery and personal items functioned as votive offerings in the seven Romano-Celtic temple assemblages included in her study. The incidence of features containing various categories of metallic small finds from site A are compared with those containing coins in the table below:

No of features excavated on site A	544
No of Features containing coins	16
No of Features containing coins and bronze finds	7
No of Features containing toilet utensils	21
No of Features containing coins and toilet utensils	3
No of Features containing brooches	52
No of Features containing brooches and coins	5
No of Features containing other jewellery	14
No of Features containing coins and jewellery	3
No of Features containing ironwork	54
No of Features containing ironwork and coins	3
Percentage of features with toilet utensils that also have coins	14%
Percentage of features with brooches that also have coins	10%
Percentage of features with other jewellery that also have coins	21%
Percentage of features with iron objects that also have coins	6%

Table 17: Analysis of metallic small finds from Baldock site A

The table shows that although iron is the most common small find material found in features, iron objects are rarely associated with coins. Copper alloy small finds seem to be much more closely associated with coins in features and toilet utensils occur in over 14% of features that also contain coins. Jewellery (bracelets, finger rings, and earrings) stands out as having a very close association with coinage in features with over one fifth of the features containing coins also containing jewellery. The close association of coins

and these items must lead us to conclude that in an deliberate act of deposition coins, jewellery and personal items must all have been seen to have had compatible votive importance.

A site, known as BAL2 (fig.32), was excavated c.150m to the east of Site A and situated at the south-eastern extremity of the core area of activity. The site consisted of a LPRIA ditched, open ended, enclosure 120m long and 20m wide, that would appear (from aerial photography) to lead to a very large enclosure approximately 75m square. At the other end of the open-ended enclosure was a small LPRIA circular building, only 5m in diameter, provisionally interpreted as a shrine or mortuary house (Burleigh 1995a, 179). On the outside of the structure were a number of satellite cremation burials. The enclosure is crossed by an earlier pit alignment. The pits, which originally contained telegraph pole size posts, bisected the area of LPRIA activity and separated the burial areas from the other areas of activity (M. Stevenson pers. comm.).

Seven Iron Age coins were associated with the enclosure. One, a rare silver unit of Dias depicting a boar, was recovered from the lower levels of a disturbed area, in a prominent position, immediately below the circular building in the centre of the ditched enclosure. As with the instances above on BAL1 and site A, the area of disturbance has been interpreted as a quarry, but its proximity to the building and position in the enclosure may suggest an area of ritual disturbance similar to that near the solution hollow on BAL1, or the entrance to the temple on site A. Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that the original purpose of any of the 'quarries' described above was for building materials.

The other six coins were all associated with (either on, in or near) the western enclosure ditch. Two of these were found in the west terminal of a LPRIA/early Roman cross ditch were it intersected with the western enclosure ditch. One of the coins from the western enclosure ditch was recovered from exactly the position where the ditch bisected the earlier pit alignment. Associated with the coin in the fill at this point was a large amount of animal bone and some 1st century AD pot. The other coins were from Roman contexts on or by the ditch and, apart from the obvious association with the ditch, the contexts seem to be otherwise unremarkable for the material they contain, the

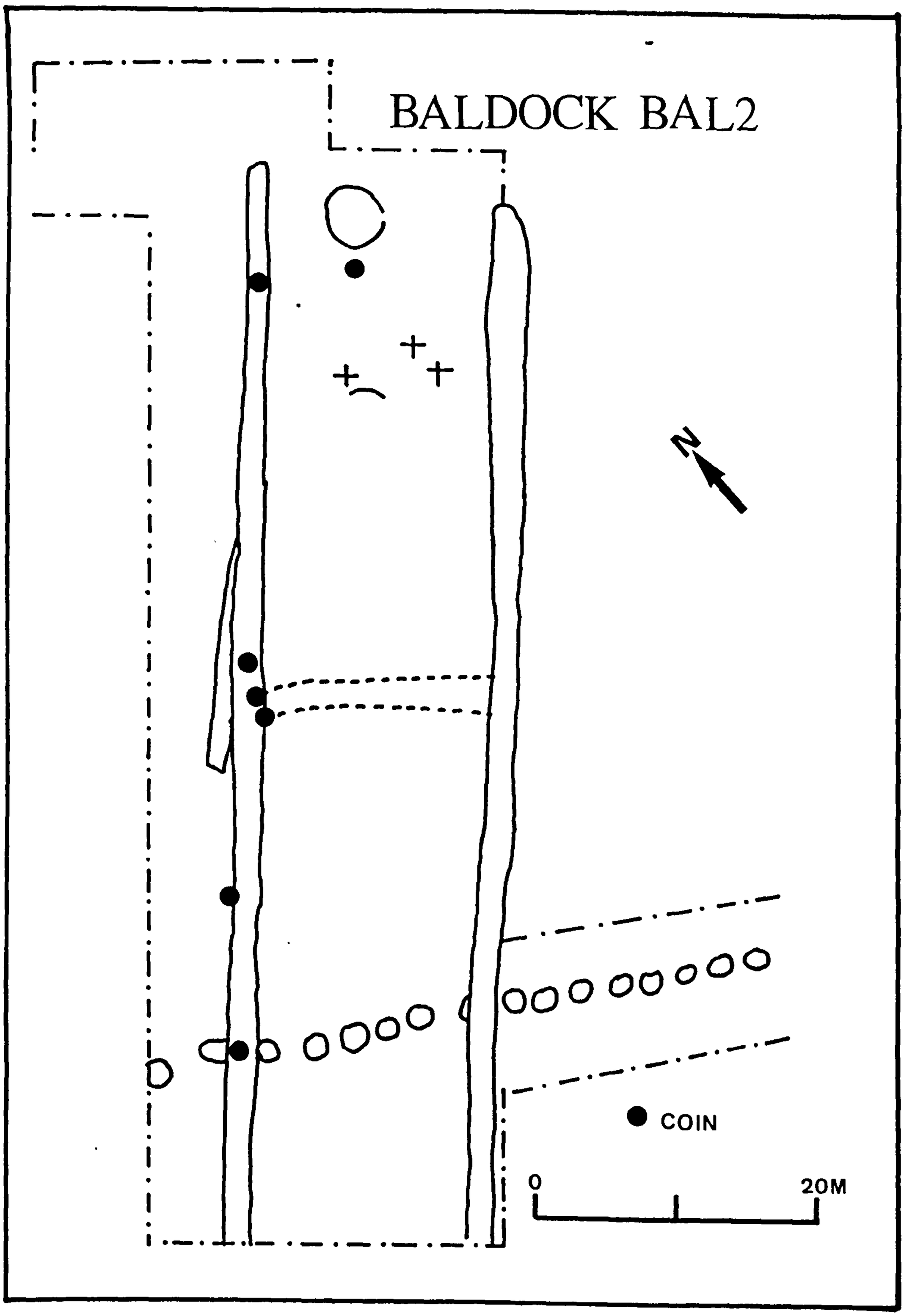


Fig.32: Plan of Baldock Site 2 (BAL2) showing position of coin finds

other finds being three iron nails, two iron objects and a glass sherd; the most notable find being a piece of slag. No coins were recovered from the eastern ditch which, unlike its western counterpart, was accompanied by a bank with palisade, and lies at the edge of the LPRIA core activity area. It may be that because this boundary was marked in a prominent physical way it may not have been considered necessary to mark it in a symbolic way with coins.

A significant number of Iron Age coins (153) have been recorded from Baldock of which a comparatively large proportion (35%) are from archaeological contexts. Yet there are parts of Baldock where excavation has revealed extensive LPRIA activity but where very few, if any Iron Age coins, have been recovered. These include extensive cemeteries (BAL15, BAL45), the chieftains burial itself (Stead and Rigby 1986), and notably the large area of the Hartsfield School playing area (BAL13) which lay 200m further down the main road from BAL1. There were 657 Roman coins recovered from BAL13 and pottery assemblages would suggest intense LPRIA activity. Indeed 65% of stratified Iron Age coins from all archaeologically examined sites at Baldock (over 60) came from the three areas (BAL1, BAL2 and site A) described above. This would suggest that the areas where a number of coins recovered were exceptional and of a different status to other parts of parts of the settlement. The lack of coins from the burial areas is not unexpected as we have shown that the association of coins with burials is exceptional.

The coins are clearly not randomly distributed around the site or clearly concentrated in areas that would appear to be shops or markets. They are preferentially positioned at entrances, and in the terminals or corners of enclosure ditches notably where the ditch is delimiting an area of high status activity particularly those used for burial or other religious practices, such as shrines.

Furthermore, it is clear that the irregular hollows interpreted by their respective excavators as 'quarries', also contained a large amount of special finds in a concentration not generally found in features on the sites. This would suggest that such hollows were not simply disused quarries used as receptacles for everyday rubbish. Hollows or depressions have been identified at a number of Iron Age and Roman temples, either

positioned directly under the middle of the shrine in a clearly central location and probably the focus for the shrine e.g. Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993, 34 F19), Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1994, 114) and Gournay-sur-Aronde (Derks 1998, 174-75 figs. 4.18 and 4.19), or placed outside the shrine, within the *temenos* area, but closely linked with the ritual activity from evidence of the material in the fill e.g. Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993, 19 F264/251), Henley Wood (Watts and Leach 1996, 33), Chelmsford Site K (Wickenden 1992, 21 fig. 12) and Harlow (France and Gobel 1985, 21). Such hollows, sometimes natural, sometimes man-made, would appear to have had special functions and meanings.

8.3.3 Easton Maudit

A substantial Roman building was excavated by Bozeat Historical and Archaeological Society at Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire. The building in its most advanced 2nd century form would appear to have consisted of a suite of rooms arranged behind a corridor with central porch, the whole complex being flanked by two large circular structures interpreted as towers. Unfortunately the stratigraphy and chronology of the site was poorly understood. The Iron Age coins were plotted on plans (fig.33) but little attempt was made to record their contexts. From damage limitation site visits made by Northamptonshire Archaeology it would appear that there may have been a LPRIA 'round house' on the same axis as the other two circular structures of similar dimensions and positioned less than1.5m from the southern circular structure, partly underlying part of the later rectangular body of the villa. The 'round house' is reported to have been surrounded by a layer of rich thick black soil spread, interpreted by the excavators as an organic farmyard soil (C. Woodfield pers. comm.).

The plot of the Iron Age coins across the site shows that none were recovered from the site of what would traditionally be interpreted as a villa. The coins would appear to be located towards the sides of the villa complex with a solitary find on the line of the entrance way. The coins recorded towards the side of the villa appear to arc around both circular buildings, most notably the more southerly one, as though they were respecting the structure. Both the circular structures and the rectangular villa building are believed by the excavators to have been broadly contemporary (mid 2nd century AD) yet they are clearly earlier; the southern structure would appear to have a porch that underlies the

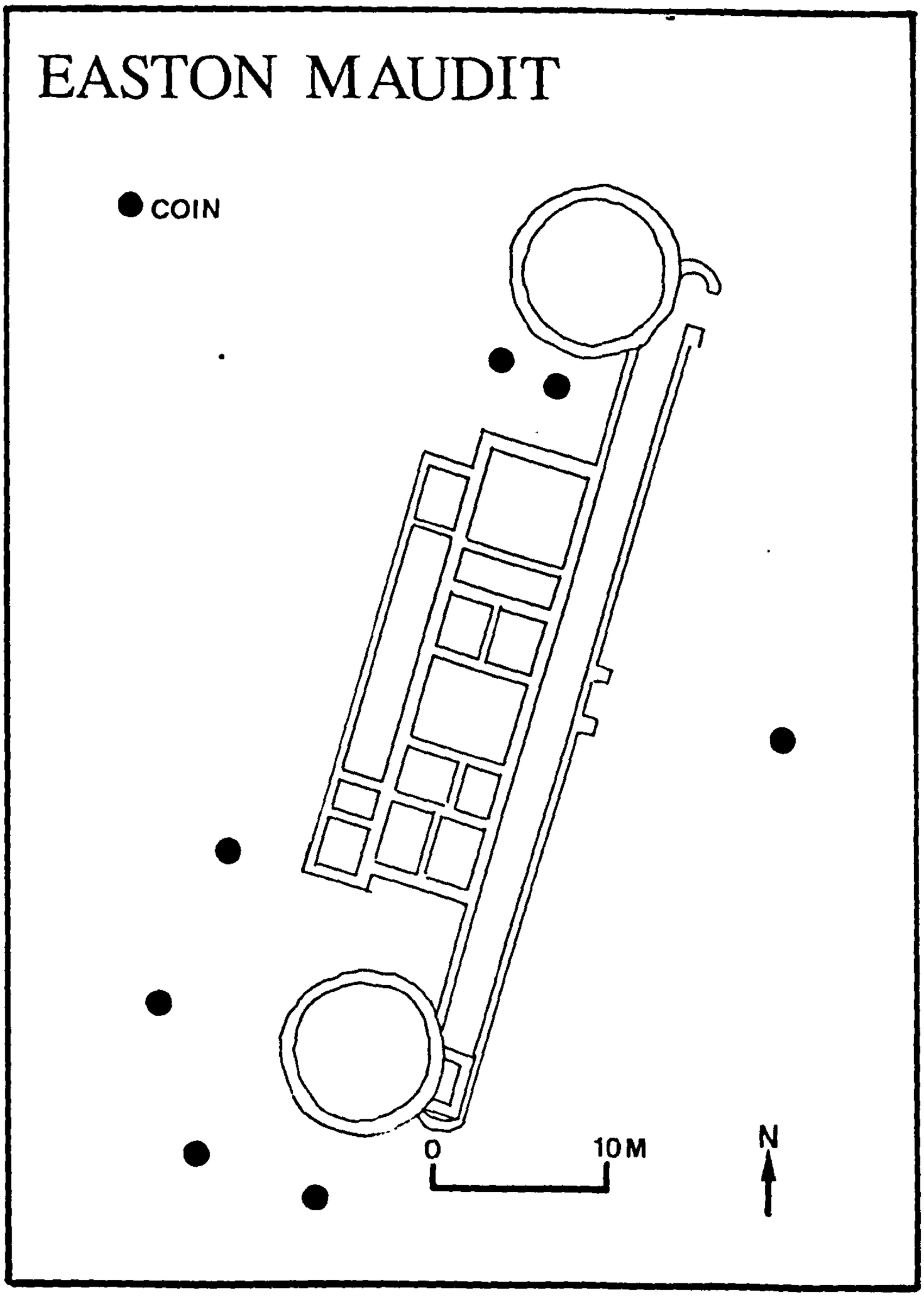


Fig.33: Plan of Easton Maudit Roman villa showing position of coin finds

corridor. The level below the circular structures was not explored and it is not known if these buildings of Roman date replaced earlier buildings as indicated by the surrounding coins.

Attention is drawn to the similarity of the porched structure with the Romano-British temple on Hayling Island (King and Soffe 1994, 116). The size of the buildings are comparable and the porches are to the same shape and proportion to the main building (or *cella*). There are similar temple structures still standing in Gaul, notably at Perigueux and Villetoureix (Fauduet 1993, 54-55). At such temples the votive material is mostly found surrounding the temple or shrine, very rarely within it. For example, only one coin was found within the Hayling Island temple from a total assemblage of 152 coins (Briggs, Haselgrove and King 1993, 1), and at Harlow where of the 224 coins from the temple excavations, only nine came from the area of the Romano-British temple *cella* (France and Gobel 1985, 53). However, this is not universal and there are exceptions, for example coins were found clustered both in, and around, a circular building within the precinct of Harlow Romano-Celtic temple in 1985-89 (Haselgrove 1989a, 75 Fig.1).

We have noted that Roman circular shrines with which Iron Age coins and Iron Age activity are associated are located elsewhere in the study area (e.g. Brigstock, Baldock, Bancroft and Gorhambury). At Easton Maudit, as at Baldock and Bancroft, the coins were only found outside the circular shrine. Circular Iron Age shrines are also known e.g. at Hayling Island, Harlow and probably at Maiden Castle (Woodward 1992, 31).

Attention is also drawn to the rich organic soil underlying the villa. Such layers are also found surrounding temples and are best interpreted as the decomposed remains of a quantity organic material derived from perishable offerings or the wrappings in which other objects were deposited. Organic layers have been identified at Harlow (France and Gobel 1985, 56; Haselgrove 1989a, 74), Hayling Island (G. Soffe pers. comm.), and at well explored continental examples such as Mirebeau (Brunaux 1988, 22).

It is suggested that the circular structures at Easton Maudit represent Roman rebuilds of earlier Iron Age temples. A villa with a similar plan is known at Gayhurst, north Buckinghamshire (p.197), and here too metal detected coins would appear to come from

the area of the circular structures (R. Friendship-Taylor pers. comm.). It is often the case that where Iron Age coins have been found during the excavation of Roman villas they very rarely come from the site of the main building, for example, Piddington and Stanwick (both in Northamptonshire), Gorhambury (Neal, Wardle and Hunn 1993), Bancroft (Williams and Zeepvat 1994. The only villas within the study area where an Iron Age coin is closely associated with a villa is at Shakenoak where the coin was associated with the fill of a niched cellar which was interpreted by its excavators (Brodribb, Hands and Walker 1971) as a shrine or chapel, and at Park Street, St Albans (O'Neill 1945, Saunders 1961). This may suggest that the LPRIA, or Roman, elite did not either use Iron Age coins or consider their homes an appropriate place to deposit (or discard) them. The evidence that coins are not found in Iron Age or Roman domestic contexts reinforces our argument for a ritual use being a main function of coins, or at least, the reason for their entry into the archaeological record.

8.3.4 Braughing/Puckeridge

Braughing/Puckeridge is a large LPRIA settlement complex situated in the valley of the river Rib. The settlement covers a total area of approximately 200ha with a particular concentration on Wickham Hill, also the site of a small Roman town. A number of excavations have taken place since the 1940s producing a quantity of material from a number of sites. There has been little synthesis of the complex as a whole (Bryant and Niblett 1997). The excavations are notable for the high proportion of imports, especially pottery, and it has been suggested (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 276) that Braughing was the principle entrepot for imports arriving in the region towards the end of the 1st century BC. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the imports were finding their way onto other LPRIA settlements in the region: they seem to have arrived at Braughing and stayed there. Although one could argue that this is because the assemblage includes a high proportion of containers (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 276) and that their contents were 'consumed' on site and the vessels discarded, it is suggested here that nowhere else in the region has large assemblages of imports because nowhere else in the region was of a similar status. The complex also has the second highest collection of LPRIA amphorae in Britain (Peacock 1981). There appears to have been considerable variation in the nature of the occupation within the Braughing complex.

A very large amount of Iron Age coinage has been recovered from the Braughing/Puckeridge area (over 350 coins). This is the largest site collection from the study area followed by assemblages from Baldock (153 coins) and St Albans (125 coins) and indicates the importance of the site. The assemblage is heavily biassed to potins and phase 7 issues when compared to the provincial mean, phase 8 issues being under-represented, parallelling the chronological profile of the imported pottery assemblage and implying a decline in status from the early 1st century AD (see coin loss histogram p.111). The decline may be connected to the rapid development of Baldock and St Albans during the early first century AD.

Many of the coins are unstratified, not well provenanced finds, but several excavations have produced stratified assemblages. The most notable is Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981a). There were three main periods of activity at the site. Period 1 (LPRIA) was represented by a late 1st century BC palisade trench, followed by a period of building and rebuilding, and a partial abandonment in the pre-conquest period although there was a least one new building during this phase. Much of the area was covered by a layer of silt possibly from flooding (Haselgrove 1987, 423) on which a road system and sill-beam structures were constructed in the middle of the 1st century AD (period 2). In the later 1st century AD (period 3) a small cremation cemetery was laid out over the abandoned settlement area (Partridge 1981a, 32-35). The placement of the cemetery may indicate that the status of the earlier activity was not strictly functional.

Details of the LPRIA and early Roman stratified coins recovered from features at Skeleton Green are summarised below, full details of all coins and contexts are recorded in Appendix A. The recording system employed at Skeleton Green was based on individual grid squares and it is possible to have different features with the same number in different grid squares, for example G4 F.10 is different to G7 F.10. Localised layers within the site are referred to in brackets e.g. G22(7) is localised layer 7 in grid square 22. The large scale of the published site plans together with little interpretation of the stratigraphy meant that a plot of the coin find spots, many of which either came from layers not included on published plans, or from large pits, produced little more than general grid square associations. The site archive is not, at present, available for study.

The complex recording system when related to an excavation report partly organised by feature and partly by class of find makes find/context analysis difficult but some interesting results were gained.

Only features dating to the late Iron Age or early Roman period are included in the following table. Contexts for stone tools were not published and hence the category is excluded from the table.

	IA coins	GB pot & copies	Samian	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Weaponry	Misc. metalwork	Glass	Animal bone	Metal working	Other small finds	Date	Comments
G5 F9	✓	✓		5	✓			6	✓	✓	✓	✓	IA	Middle fill of large pit containing parts of over 27 Gallo-Belgic vessels, large quantities of animal bone incl. 2nd largest assemblage of pig from site. Metalwork included a stylus, strap mounts and jug rim.
G5(3)	✓	✓		✓			✓	6		✓			IA	From cobble floor of building. Possible ritual hollow outside entrance with many small finds. Metalwork included an iron projectile head, and knife blade.
G5(4)	3	✓		✓				2	✓	✓		2	IA	From a ground level associated with building 1. Metalwork included part of a bronze spoon. Other significant finds were a glass bowl with floral decoration and decorated pottery imports.
G22 F39	✓	✓	✓				✓	3		✓			IA	From the bottom of an enclosure either associated with building II or the cemetery overlying it. Only three other features produced more pig bone. Other significant finds were an iron sword chape.
G22 F50	✓	✓								✓			IA	From a large oval pit underlying the cemetery and lying near, and contemporary with, building II. Context contained numerous animal bones including pig jaws and a sheep skull.
G22(6)	✓	✓		4									IA	From the latest occupation layer below the silt (see below), and overlying cemetery and building II.
G22(7)	✓	✓		2				3					IA	From a burnt layer associated with Building II. The metal finds included an iron knife blade.

G23(4)	✓	✓		2				2					IA	From the base of the flood silt overlying Buildings II, 6 and 7 and underlying the cemetery. Metalwork included a decorative bronze plaque and an iron plate.
G23(5)	2	✓											IA	From an occupation area to the north of building II. The context also contained a quantity of pottery including sherds from at least 17 imports.
G40(6)	2			1								✓	IA	From occupation layer on path leading to building VII which contained burnt grain and quernstones. The finds included a rubbing stone and sherds representing 46 Gallo-Belgic vessels were found. 9 other coins came from the grid square.
G40 F12	2									✓			IA	From bottom of large pit which contained a number of pig jaws and other bones including a horse skull but no small finds. Pit lies at the end of the path leading from building VII.
G41 F23	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓					IA	From the bottom of large circular pit. Also at the bottom was a bracelet, a spatula, an iron loop, three samian vessels and several Gallo-Belgic sherds.
G42 F11	✓							✓					IA	From a large post pit containing a flagon, a rim sherd and a heavy bronze ferrule. No bone reported.
G44 F1	✓	✓	✓	4		✓		✓				✓		From large pit that cut through cobbling of building IV and underlay cemetery. Lots of animal bone Only four other contexts held more pig bone, including 17 jaws. Brooches included two rosette brooches and other finds were a St Michael's, stud and spindle whorl.
G6(4)	✓	✓		✓								✓	ER	From 'ground surface' other finds include brooch spring and spindle whorl.
G23(3)	✓	✓		✓	✓			4					ER	From layer of cobbling below the cemetery. Finds included an iron knife and an agate ear-ring.
G24(4)	✓	✓		✓	✓			2					ER	From 'ground surface' layer.
G25 F8	✓	✓		✓									ER	From LPRIA ditch fill near entrance to later cemetery. The brooch was of rosette type. Hammerstone with mica found in nearby section of ditch.
G40(4)	✓			✓			✓						ER	From surface of silt overlying LPRIA structures. Finds included a bronze cuirass hinge-plate.

G41(4)	2												ER	From surface of flood silt and overlying building VII. Coarse pot included two flagons and amphora sherds. Other finds included a bronze ?harness ring and an iron washer.
G41(5)	✓	✓						✓				✓	ER	From layer of burnt debris to north of building VII. Finds from the context included a buckle (possibly from *lorica*) and a rubbing stone.

Table 18: Material associated with contexts containing Iron Age coins at Skeleton Green

The association of Iron Age coins with rich small find assemblages, especially those including personal items and imported pottery, stands out at Skeleton Green as it did at Baldock, and can be seen as a repeating pattern. It is important to note that the association of rich deposits with Iron Age coins continues into the Roman period. This may suggest that the votive or ritual significance attached to coins also continued into the Roman period just as areas of ritual importance show continuity.

No of Features containing coins	37
No of Features containing toilet utensils	8
No of Features containing coins and toilet utensils	6
No of Features containing brooches	55
No of Features containing brooches and coins	23
No of Features containing other jewellery	7
No of Features containing coins and jewellery	3
No of Features containing ironwork	38
No of Features containing ironwork and coins	12
Percentage of features with toilet utensils that also have coins	75%
Percentage of features with brooches that also have coins	42%
Percentage of features with other jewellery that also have coins	43%
Percentage of features with iron objects that also have coins	32%

Table 19: Analysis of metallic small finds from Skeleton Green

The table clearly shows, even more strongly than at Baldock, the close association of coins particularly with toilet instruments and also with brooches and other items of jewellery. While the far commoner iron items are less frequently associated with coins in contexts highlighting that the association of coins and other classes of find, particularly toilet instruments is unlikely to be accidental.

At Skeleton Green 47% of Iron Age coins come from Iron Age deposits comparable to Baldock Site A where 43% of coins come from pre-conquest deposits. The Skeleton Green deposits were sealed by a flood silt dating to the mid 1st century AD (to c. AD 43 by the excavator thereby reducing the possibility of the coins in Roman features being accidental deposits as a result of the disturbance of Iron Age features. Therefore at other sites, such as Baldock, coins in post-conquest features cannot be assumed to be secondary (e.g. Haselgrove 1987) and this is substantiated by the continuing association of coins and certain categories of small find in deposits during the Roman period.

Phase (after Haselgrove 1987)	Potin	7	8	8L
Period I (LPRIA)	9%	73%	18%	0%
Period II (ER)	29%	57%	0%	14%

Table 20: Percentage of coins recovered from late Iron Age and early Roman contexts by coin issue phase.

Table 20 shows that the latest Iron Age coins are only found in post conquest contexts which, on chronological grounds, we might expect. However, if the coins were random losses we would expect a later chronological coin profile from the early Roman contexts than that belonging to the Iron Age contexts. The results show the opposite with the earlier coins predominating in the later period contexts which would further suggest that the coins were put in the contexts in a non-random, i.e. deliberately selected, way. Furthermore, the coins, and indeed most base-metal Iron Age coins, unlike Roman coins, exhibit little wear. This would suggest that the coins were not heavily circulated (J. May pers. comm.) and provides another example of coins not functioning as currency in the traditional sense.

The activity at Skeleton Green has been described as urban in character (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 276). Although a number of LPRIA structures were recorded, the extremely large amount of imported pottery and the large number of coins indicates a site of high status; suggesting an area of occupation of people of either great wealth or an area of ritual/ceremonial activity which required the very finest of objects to be used.

The form of the excavated structures is not typical of the type generally recognised as of a LPRIA residential type, as seen at Gorhambury. Building VII, for example, was the most substantial excavated on the site. The post-built building had been divided into two

parts. The western part appeared to be open on its southern side, where a thick cobble path had been laid which led to a rectangular well defined area of cobbles described as a "curious rather indeterminate feature" (Partridge 1981a, 39) which contained a large number of pig jaws and a horses skull. The building contained several quernstone fragments, large cooking pots and thick scattering of grain. The open half had an area of burning suggesting a hearth. The building had been constructed over a large and deep LPRIA pit into which the floor had subsided. It later burnt down with great intensity. The coins (fifteen Iron Age coins were recovered from this part of the site) and other small finds from the building (see above), the form of the building, and the presence of a the hearth, would argue against the building being a granary, as had been suggested by its excavators.

The layer of flood silt overlying the LPRIA structures would indicate the close proximity of water, or marsh land, in the late Iron Age which may suggest a votive context for the settlement. A religious association would also explain the location of an early Roman cemetery on the site. The extraordinary number of pig bones, especially jaws that have been recovered from features associated with coins is higher than any other site in the study area, where sheep and to a lesser extent cattle would be the predominant animal. At Skeleton Green 48% of the recovered bone was pig followed by 31% cattle and 18% sheep. At Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986) pig was only 11% of the assemblage while sheep where 57% and cattle 26%.

Mandible and skull fragments were the predominant pig bones at Skeleton Green and accounted for 40%, while only 11% of cattle bones were skull and jaw fragments. It has been suggested (Ashdown and Evans 1981, 217) that the large amount of pig bone at Skeleton Green may suggest that the area around Skeleton Green was thickly wooded (for which there is little evidence) and that forest animals such as pig were consequently a predominant meat source where pasture for grazing animals was lacking. However, there is almost a total lack of wild species in the bone assemblage which would seem unlikely if hunting was the major method of meat procurement and the pig bones present are from small domestic animals not large wild species. It is suggested here that the reason why Skeleton Green has a large number of pig bone is not a result of the local landscape but a result of cultural factors which are also reflected in the high proportion

of imported Gallo-Belgic wares which may indicate close connections with the Continent.

Pig bones, especially jaws, can be seen to have votive importance. Large number of pig bones, especially jaws were recovered during the excavations of the Hayling Island temple (King and Soffe 1998, 42), the Harlow temple (Legge 1985, 125), the triangular temple at St Albans (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, 117-20) and at the Collyweston temples (Knocker 1966, 63 and Northampton Museum records). The circular shrine connected with the Bancroft villa mausoleum (Williams and Zeepvat 1994) was associated with a ritual pig burial. Finally, a large number of pig jaw bones were found in the excavations at Quinton site E, Northamptonshire (Friendship-Taylor 1999). At Quinton a number of adjoining sites were excavated where LPRIA round houses and a substantial Roman building were located, but at these sheep bones predominated, it was only at site E, a small enclosure surrounded by a large, deep, ditch where pig mandibles predominated. Within the enclosure were several very wide, shallow, pits different in character to the much deeper rubbish pits normally encountered on LPRIA sites and which may be more similar in function to the hollows at Baldock. The pig jaws were mostly placed in the upper fill of the enclosure boundary ditch, below the pig bones were nine ox jaw bones, the front teeth of which had been removed and scattered around the jaws. The only Iron Age coin found during the course of the excavations at Quinton was from a ditch closely associated with the enclosure ditch at site E; the base of the ditch had been unusually lined with bunter pebbles.

The pig would, however, appear to have been the animal most often selected to accompany rich burials, such as at Baldock, King Harry Lane (Davis 1989, 250) and with the chariot burials at Wetwang (Dent 1985), where, as at Skeleton Green, the jaw is particularly preferred. It may be that the pig is the preferred meat for a warrior-elite and its presence in elite burials may be connected with feasting as are the amphorae and wine drinking vessels associated with the 'chieftains' burials at Welwyn and Baldock. Early Irish legends, although chronologically distant from the late Iron Age but maintaining some cultural affinity with it, frequently refer to feasts where pork figures largely (Green 1986, 122). Yet, the best cuts of meat would come from sides of pork or from the upper limbs, not from the jaws, suggesting that the bones are not representing choice cuts for

use in the afterlife, or the journey there, but are of a votive nature. Pig trotters, often seen as a delicacy, are never found in graves.

Parker-Pearson (1999, 47) comments that the pig may have been seen as a status symbol and notes that the bones at Skeleton Green may represent an emulation of a Gaulish elite. More interesting is his finding (Parker-Pearson 1999, 47) that there is a tendency for special deposits of articulated pig bone to be found in pits within western portions of settlements or within west facing enclosures. He also notes that in southern Britain pig bones are found only in inhumations were the corpse's head lies to the west whereas cattle and sheep are only found in eastward-orientated graves (see also Whimster 1981, 57). The iconography of the pig, which tends to be associated with weaponry and war, is likely to have strong warrior associations (see below p.226). But it is important to note here that the pig, being both a domesticated animal and a wild, dangerous, beast, may also have been seen as inhabiting both domestic and wild realms. Its position of superiority to cattle and sheep in the hierarchy of totemic association in a warrior society mirrors its symbolic use in the distinction between high-status and ordinary sites.

Old finds of coins would also indicate the site to be of ritual importance. The county SMR records two gold staters, three silver units and sixty-seven bronze staters from the station, situated 400m from Skeleton Green, and a stater of Cunobelin, thirty-two other coins of Cunobelin and/or Tasciovanus and twenty silver Roman *denarii* (Augustus-Postumus) from near the station (SMR:2769).

Another excavation within the Braughing/Puckeridge complex to have produced several coins from datable LPRIA or early Roman contexts is Station Road, Puckeridge (Partridge 1979). Excavations here revealed a 75m sample of a long linear ditch (F1) which was found to contain a substantial deposit of broken imported pottery sherds, food refuse and human bone from at least 14 individuals. The excavations also discovered the only *in situ* LPRIA burials found at Braughing. Geophysical survey and trial trenching carried out over a large area to the north of the site failed to find evidence for any activity suggesting the area surrounded by ditch F1 was separated from the rest of the

complex. It may be that the ditch formed part of an enclosure similar in status and function to that at St Michael's at Verlamion.

	LA coins	GB pot & copies	Samian	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Weaponry	Misc. metalwork	Glass	Metal working	Other small finds	Date	Comments
Top	2	✓		✓			✓					ER	Late 1st century AD and included a possible spear-head and an Italian oil lamp.
Below top	✓	✓	✓			✓		6			2	ER	Contents included a Claudian *as*, nail cleaner and iron chisel.
Middle	✓	✓		4			2	6					Weaponry includes an iron ferrule and possible shield binding

Table 21: Material associated with contexts containing coins in feature F1.

The table shows, as with the sites described above, that coins form part of rich finds assemblages, the repeating pattern of which has been demonstrated and consequently must be seen as non accidental and therefore deliberate.

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Human bone (203 fragments representing a minimum of 14 individuals) was found in all the layers of the ditch. Over half were skull fragments and some of them exhibited knife cuts. The human, animal bone and pot was mixed together in layers in between alternating sooty layers. Two rich cremation burials were found by the ditch.

No other Iron Age coins were recovered from the excavated features of the site and would suggest that the coins were deliberately deposited in ditch F1 because of its significance. The importance of symbolically marking the ditch is also indicated by the quantity of human bone, the separating ash deposits and the extensive collection of small finds and imported pottery. A fine example of a rosette brooch came from the lower ditch fill.

The other excavation at Braughing/Puckeridge to produce a number of coins was Ermine Street site D where a number of coins were recovered from late 1st century AD and 2nd century contexts. Full details can be found in Appendix A. The coins are of note since, apart from the general number, they are mainly associated either above, in, or on

one structure which was associated with metalworking. We have noted at Verlamion the association of metalworking and coins is significant and is also a function linked to specialised religious sites (see also Ashton below). There were very few imported Gallo-Belgic wares associated with the site suggesting that here, as at Ashton, metal-working and the presence of coinage is not associated with these elite imports.

Two coins, including a Gallic bronze issue, were recovered from a layer of occupation debris that lay on a gravel floor within an enclosure. The context was dated to the late 1st century AD. The enclosure also contained two large wells and a metal working area. Apart from the coins, no other finds, including small coarse ware sherds, were recovered from the context. That no other occupational detritus was found may suggest that the coins were not accidentally lost or thrown away. The context was sealed by a layer of yellow silt.

A coin was the only find from a late 1st century AD feature cut into the yellow silt which itself was found to contain a further Iron Age coin, samian, a copper alloy mount, and two brooches . Above the silt was a mortar floor belonging to structure 10 (dated AD100-150).

An Iron Age coin was recovered from the mortar floor make-up of structure 10 which was a rectangular slot built structure with a well in the middle. The other finds from the floor were a Colchester derivative brooch and late 1st century samian ware. There was silt lying on the floor which contained another Iron Age coin, early 2nd century samian, a pair of copper alloy tweezers, a nail cleaner, and an ear scoop. The preceding site analyses have shown that coin and cosmetic instruments can be demonstrated to be associated in deposits in a frequency that must be seen to be non accidental. The association of a coin and three cosmetic items is, however, exceptional.

Two coins were found in the occupation debris and rough cobbling sealing the floor of structure 10. The other finds from the layer were a brooch, an iron chisel, a glass bottle fragment, a copper alloy nail, a copper alloy needle, a copper alloy armlet and 2nd century samian.

Finally four coins, including a Gallic bronze, were recovered from the subsoil. This contained a large amount of material apart from the Iron Age coins including seventeen Roman coins dating from Domitian to Theodosius and eleven brooches. Two other coins were found in post-Roman hillwash silts and another came from an undated feature.

8.3.5 Cow Roast

The existence of a major LPRIA and Roman focus at Cow Roast, in the Bulbourne valley, Hertfordshire, has been known since the nineteenth century from finds of pottery, ironworking slag and coins, including Iron Age gold and bronze coins. Excavations during the late 1960s and 1970s yielded extensive evidence for occupation plus a large amount of iron working slag (Rook 1976, Morris and Wainwright 1995, Bryant and Niblett 1997, 271-72). The valley cuts through the Chiltern Hills at this point.

Two sites, excavated c.350m apart on either side of the river, produced stratified coins. At the Orchard site features were recovered dating from the late 1st century BC to the 4th century AD. Excavations revealed two bowl furnaces with tap slag. Hearths and smithing waste was also located (Morris and Wainwright 1995, 68). Most of the excavated area was filled by six large wells forming a rough circle. Along a ditch, but on the other side to the wells, were a series of large 1st century AD pits. The wells had been redug but to a very shallow depth. The site has a close parallel in the Chelmsford Roman temple (R. Zeepvat pers. comm.). Aerial photographs have revealed a Romano-Celtic temple, c200m north of the site.

Five Iron Age coins were found during the course of the excavations one was from the topsoil, another from a late Roman occupation area which also included a large number of 4th century Roman coins. Two came from the upper fill of the 1st century AD pits: one was associated with an early Roman coin, not later included in the published Roman coin list (see Reece 1982, 65-6), while the other coin came from a context which also contained 4Kg pot, a mortarium sherd, 13 sherds of samian ware and a segmental strip bow brooch. The fifth coin came from the enclosure ditch.

Five coins were recovered from the Marina site, which as its name suggests, is situated very close to the river. Little information is available on the site but the excavations

found several timber lined wells and a metalled road leading to a Roman masonry structure (Morris and Wainwright 1995, 68). All the coins came from late Roman contexts but the material associated with the coins, as in the LPRIA and early Roman periods, is still considerably richer than that generally recovered from features of a similar size. For fuller details of the contexts see Appendix A.

	IA coins	GB pot & copies	Samian	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Misc. metalwork	Glass	Animal bone	Other small finds	Date	Comments
F.33	✓		4	2	✓	✓			✓	9	LR	Finds included a St Michael's, seven Romna coins, a bronze hair pin head, a quern fragment and a spindle whorl.
F.41	✓		✓	19		6	4		✓	26	LR	A sandy/silt layer that covered most of site. Finds included a perforated boars tusk, two St Michael'se, tweezers, two ear scoops, two razors, a thistle brooch, four knives, 26 Roman coins and ten quern fragments.
F.1	✓		✓	12	3	6	6	✓		123	LR	Possible road surface included a bracelet, a shale bracelet, beads, a spoon, six nail cleaners, mirror fragments and 117 Roman coins.
F.1017	2		✓						✓			Roadside ditch with quantity of Roman pottery and animal bone.

Table 22: Analysis of material from features containing coins at the Marina site.

The above table shows the associations of small finds, particularly brooches and cosmetic utensils, at the Marina site. The richness of the association is remarkable even though some of the features are extensive layers. Unlike the Braughing/Puckeridge sites there are few imports recorded from Cow Roast. The features described above did not include any weaponry. Slag and metal working debris may have been present in the features but the excavation archive is not, at present, in a state where this data can be retrieved.

One other site excavated at Cow Roast was the Esso site. Its position was adjacent to the Orchard site. There is little information available on this site which appears to have consisted of two large boundary ditches with pits along one side of a ditch forming a similar configuration to the Orchard site (R. Zeepvat pers comm.).

Two coins were found in the course of the excavation. Both were found in the same pit. One coin came from the bottom in a context also containing 150 vessel sherds (4kg), a partially complete vessel, six samian sherds, a fragment of a copper alloy sheet, five pieces of slag, a glass sherd and 335 (2.5kg) bone fragments. The second coin came from the middle fill of the pit which also contained a Claudian *as* copy and a copper alloy finger-ring with a triangular recess in its bezel. Finds from the upper fill were a bone pin with a pyramidal head, a copper alloy nail and part of a samian stamp.

8.3.6 Ashton, Northamptonshire

We have observed that there is frequently an association between Iron Age coinage and metal-working (or metal-working debris). This was clearly the case at Cow Roast and a similar link can be seen at Ashton were two coins were recovered during the excavation of what is normally referred to as a Romano-British small town.

One coin, came from a mid 1st century AD make up of a mortar or clay floor of a hut constructed over a thin gravel and midden deposit. The midden continued outside the hut and covered a large area. The walls of the hut (diameter.c6.5m) were defined by vertical slabs. The hut had a central hearth and a north-easterly facing entrance with a large hollow immediately inside (for a discussion of hollows see above pp.171-72). A boundary ditch, aligned along a road, forms part of an enclosure. The ditch contained Belgic pot and brooches and was demarcated in the 4th century by several inhumations; two of which had their heads by their feet. The site was interpreted as a LPRIA farm which in the Roman period was used for iron smithing.

The other coin came from the lower fill of another boundary ditch dated to the early 1st century AD. The area, from the late 1st century AD, was occupied by a rectangular stone building (building I) interpreted as a smiths workshop with associated kilns. The ditch contained several thousand sherds including many imports (TR, TN and Lyons ware). A

well behind the building contained a late Roman lead tank inscribed with a Chi-Rho, providing evidence of a religious element for the site.

The linking of religion and metalworking has many parallels and we have seen that it is a characteristic associated with many temple sites. Pellet moulds have been found, along with evidence for iron working at the St Michael's enclosure. At Fison Way, Norfolk pellet moulds were found (Gregory 1992a) and there was evidence for iron, copper alloy and silver working (Wilthew, Bayley and Linton 1991, 141-42). Metalworking is also known to have taken place at Uley (Bayley 1993, 215) where there is evidence for iron smelting and smithing, copper alloy metalworking and silver extraction from lead. At the Henley Wood temples copper alloy working is suggested by a crucible, a piece of iron slag and waste lead was also recovered (Watts and Leach 1996, 133) and there is evidence for iron smelting at the Collyweston temples (Knocker 1956, 57). It has been argued (e.g. Watts and Leach 1996, 133) that the sole reason for metal working at temples may be to produce votive objects to be consumed on site, while this may be true for some of the bronze and lead products, iron smelting is much harder to explain away. We have discussed the possibility that metalworking, involving the transformation and transfiguration of ores and metals may have been seen as a magical act, or may have been seen to be linked to fertility and regeneration (Hingley 1997, 13). Where such activities were undertaken, close contact with the deities may have been considered necessary for the process to work successfully. Metalworking debris in the form of slag and crucible fragments has been recovered associated with coins in a large number of contexts excavated within the study area and at all the major sites described in this part of the study. The repetitive nature of the association between coins and metal working debris must be seen to indicate a definite link between the two.

8.3.7 Odell

A late Iron Age site, interpreted as a rural farmstead, was excavated at Odell, close to the river Ouse in north Bedfordshire. The site archive is held by Bedford Museum. The farmstead, which consisted of two round houses, persisted into the 3rd century AD. It was noted above that although residential round houses continued into the Roman period, it was not the norm. Consequently the circular building may be non residential (see discussion p.172, Easton Maudit).

The buildings were placed close to two LPRIA cemetries in which sixteen cremation burials were excavated. The cemeteries were interesting for a number of reasons. Nearly all the burials were female. In the first cemetery there were three cremations where parts of the skull were placed outside urns and one instance where the unburnt skull was placed in a nearby ditch. In the second cemetery the graves were arranged around a central pole in a cruciform pattern and all the burials were double containing infants accept for one which contained an urned male cremation with associated vessels and another of an inhumed adult with a decorated vessel. Four of the cremations in the second cemetery contained pig bones (see Braughing (above) for votive significance of pig bones). Between the two cemeteries was a pit containing a wooden plough. The pit was later replaced by a well which had a severed female head placed on a horse pelvis placed behind its whicker lining. The well was positioned at the junction of four enclosure ditches.

A number of coins were recovered during the course of the excavations (see Appendix A for full details).

	IA coins	IA pot	GB pot & copies	RB pot	Samian	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Misc. metalwork	Glass	Animal bone	Slag	Worked flint	Other small finds	Date	Comments
F543.1	✓	✓				4			5		✓		✓	2	IA/ ER	Top of ditch. Finds included two pieces of worked bone, four iron objects and the remains of an oven. A plated *denarius* of Tiberius was found in ploughsoil above.
F543.3	✓	✓				2			✓		✓				IA	Middle of ditch fill.
F765	✓	✓													ER	Enclosure ditch terminal
LA	✓					2								✓	LR	A Gallo-Belgic Db quarter stater from levelling area for late Roman building. Also included a coin of Tetricus I.
F129.2	2			✓							✓		✓	✓	ER	From upper fill of large quarry pit and included kiln fragment and slag. The layer covered two inhumations.

F20	✓	✓		✓		3					✓		3	5	ER	From west enclosure ditch. Finds included three quernstones, oyster shell and an *as* of Vespasian.
F.290.1	✓	✓		✓	✓						✓				ER	From the top of a pit.
F328	✓				✓						✓			✓	ER	From the bottom of a pit. Fill also included oyster shell, samian, a quernstone and a wooden object.
F400	2	✓		✓		✓			✓		✓	✓	✓		MR	Enclosure ditch top
F468.1	✓			✓							✓				ER	From the top of a pit.
F542	✓			✓					5		✓			6	LR	Top of well on junction of three enclosure ditches. Context included human bone, four quernstones and oven remains.
F868	✓			✓							✓	✓	✓	3	Sax	From upper fill of Saxon well. Finds included a Roman coin, two quernstones and an unspecified toilet article.

Table 23: Material associated with contexts containing coins at Odell

The structure of the site and some of the deposits, such as the well containing the plough, the pig bone, metal working debris and the burials indicate specialised religious activity which may be reflected in the form of the circular buildings. A number of the boundaries are marked by coins, as has been observed at the other sites we have discussed, as is an entranceway. The contexts containing coins often have a high concentration of small finds and include a number of brooches and a toilet implement. The quarry containing inhumation burials and a coin can be regarded as a ritual use for a hollow which has emerged as a common pattern. It is also notable that slag was recovered from the fill. Human remains have also been recovered from other features containing coins, where both types of material are likely to be deliberately deposited and deliberately associated. The quernstones and stone implements are worthy of comment. Stone implements have been recovered from a large number of temple sites and have been recognised as a characteristic find on such sites (pp.135, 141 and 155), e.g. Fisons Way (Healy 1992, 143-47), where less than 8% of the recovered implement assemblage came from pre-Iron Age contexts, Uley (Saville 1993, 196-97), where less than 3% were recovered from pre-LPRIA contexts, and Harlow (Gobel 1985, 100-101). Quernstones, being associated with corn and bread making, may have a fertility association. Although examples are often recovered from ordinary domestic sites, quernstones are also found on temple sites in the types of features that seem to have been symbolically marked, such

as enclosure ditches and entrance ways (see also Hill 1995a). For example, the entrance to the shrine enclosure at Baldock site A (above), at Fisons Way (Gregory 1992a, 147-48) where they predominated in grave fills and the outer enclosure ditches of the temples, and most notably at Hunsbury hill fort, Northamptonshire (Ingle 1994), where around 150 quernstones were recovered, as a result of 19th century quarrying, from large pits within the hillfort.

8.4 Analysis of other excavations

We have examined finds from the major coin producing sites, including some where a series of excavations have taken place within a larger complex. In the study area a number of other excavations that have produced one or more Iron Age coins. Details are summarised below (for full details see Appendix A).

8.4.1 Bedfordshire

Houghton Regis, Puddlehill: A bronze unit of Cunobelin was found unstratified in an Iron Age and Romano-British settlement. The settlement was on the top of a hill, along with a Bronze Age crouched burial, and 300m from the source of the River Ouzel. The coin came from site 2 which contained a Romano-British kiln and a circular building described as a 'hut'. Middle Iron Age features include a sunken house reached by steps, large fire pits (two of which contained querns) and an unfinished defensive ditch containing the skeleton of a young girl. A small LPRIA round hut was excavated containing quernstones and two partial ox skeletons were recovered from its ditches. A cremation cemetery had few grave goods. A series of LPRIA drainage ditches lead to pools of uncertain function.

The LPRIA finds from the site were an iron brooch, a copper alloy tankard handle, iron knives, oven fragments, several cremations. Bones on hut floor of cattle, sheep, pig, small pony. Many vessels had perforated bases suggesting ritual damage (A. Gwilt pers. comm.). There were several Romano-British dog skeletons one of which had its head, paws and tail missing and had been laid beside a sheep skeleton and a number of Romano-British iron agricultural tools. The unusual deposits, the pools, and the Roman circular structure would suggest a ritual component to the function of the site.

Kempston, Ibbett's Field: The site is a late Roman cemetery with c88 inhumations and c5 cremations, near a substantial Roman building. No evidence for Iron Age settlement or burials was found. An AE unit (Lx23) coin came from a Roman inhumation. The grave contained two iron nails suggesting a coffin and one hobnail besides the coin. The larger part of another skeleton was in the fill but no other finds. We have noted that it is unusual for Iron Age coins to be associated with either Iron Age or Roman burials: the grave at King Harry Lane being the only example of a coins in a primary position. However, it should be seen as significant that of the six recorded examples of a coin coming from a grave fill in at least one other example (Baldock) the grave contained a secondary burial (see above p.161).

Luton Limbury, Bramingham Park: An unstratified bronze and a silver unit were found. House foundation trenches revealed a large settlement area with at least one substantial Roman building as indicated by tegulae. There were also several inhumations and numerous pits located. The position of the site by the main source of the river Lea and near where the Icknield Way crosses the Lea could provide a ritual focus. Evidence of ritual activity is provided by the contents of the pits: one contained two inhumations another contained two dogs skulls. Other unstratified finds included a miniature iron anvil, an iron gouge, a copper alloy St Michael's, parts of several human skeletons, a hare-and-hound folding knife, crucible and copper working slag. Such finds often turn up on temple sites where they functioned as votive deposits (see pp.140-41), especially the model anvil and the folding knife (see Evenley p.212), while the metalworking evidence my also indicate religious activity (see also pp.147, 160, 185 and 189).

Directly across the Lea lies Leagrave Marsh, as its name suggests this was previously a marshy area surrounding the source of the Lea and at least ten gold and bronze Iron Age coins have been recovered (see Appendix A). The County SMR records that log piles were been found forming a platform leading across the marsh to the river, beyond this was a skeleton 'of a person who fell into marsh'. A similar platform at La Tène has been interpreted as a platform from which offerings could be made (Brunaux 1988, 43). The SMR also records quantities of LPRIA pot, a pottery 'copy of a late Bronze Age Irish cauldron', and a LPRIA pit with two quern stones at its base and a quantity of ash and pottery in the fill. The site appears to have been abandoned in the early Roman period.

Maulden, Ruxox Farm: An unstratified potin was found on a partly waterlogged site by a river during excavations that revealed evidence for Romano-British copper alloy and iron smelting. Pottery suggested occupation from the LPRIA to the 6th century. Thirty Roman inhumations were found. The finds from the site, some recovered from an old water course, strongly point to a ritual element in the function of the site. The finds include copper alloy pins, brooches, intaglios, several pipeclay figurines, a lead appliqué oval face mask with bulging eyes and iron knife (both undated). The Roman coins found on the site included two Republican *denarii* and eight 1st century Imperial coins which included another *denarius*.

Sandy: Excavations 1989-91 on the Roman settlement of Sandy recovered 38 Iron Age coins including a plated stater and a silver unit. A large number of coins (40+) have previously been recorded from the Sandy area which appears to be a LPRIA/Roman nucleated settlement and it is probable that coins given a Biggleswade provenance are also from Sandy (see discussion in Haselgrove 1987, 352-3). An unlocated religious complex is suggested by the exceptional finds of a silver covered sword and a relief of Mercury (Haselgrove 1987, 352).

Most of the excavated coins (30) were concentrated in the primary silts of a stream bed suggesting a votive deposit to the excavator (Dawson 1995, 174-75). Two coins came from the terminal of a substantial LPRIA ditch which was cut into the stream sediment. One coin came from a LPRIA gravel floor and a few others came from indeterminate layers. The site is highly complex and not yet fully prepared for publication. During the Roman period a number of rectangular structures were constructed over the silts and several inhumations, notably infants, were spread across the site. A large number of brooches (59) were found as were finger rings, *ligulae*, tweezers and other toilet instruments, mostly from the stream sediments and often with Iron Age coins. We have noted above (e.g. pp.143, 160 and 168) that all these classes of material are frequently used as votive objects and are often associated with coins. Another indication of ritual activity was a large votive sculpture depicting three figures and the very large number of Roman coins (over 6,000) recovered and these should be seen as representing votive deposits. As with a number of other ritual sites there was evidence of metalworking and fragments of copper alloy working waste were found with some of the coins.

Sandy, Warren Villas: A bronze unit was found deposited in a silted up water course in a peaty area which included a large curvilinear LPRIA enclosure, inside the enclosure was a group of pits, containing animal bone and pottery and isolated post-holes of uncertain function. The site is immediately to the south-east of the site discussed above and situated near the west bank of the river Ivel. Outside the enclosure was a rectangular post-built structure consisting of seven large postholes and two boundary ditches were located (Dawson and Maul 1996). The other small finds were all Roman and consisted of six coins, a copper alloy brooch, a copper alloy awl, two pieces of copper alloy sheet, a lead alloy fragment, a copper alloy ring, an iron knife, a lead sheet and a lead weight. A ritual context may be suggested from the depositional context of the coin and by a Bronze Age funerary enclosure that was constructed between a palaeochannel and a large pool.

Stotfold, Norton Road: Three bronze units were found. One from the bottom of a LPRIA ditch, another from a shallow LPRIA ditch, and the third from a Roman pit which contained pottery, roof tile, nails, worked flint and animal bone. The worked flint may be significant (see pp.141 and 191). The ditch containing a coin formed a subsquare enclosure in which was located a round house with a northern entrance, a smaller roundhouse, a square four-post structure and several truncated post-holes. One boundary ditch contained two near complete cow skeletons and near complete pots. To the north was a cremation in a pit in the centre of a square enclosure. With the cremated bone was an iron disc, four complete pots including a pedestal urn, a perforated whetstone and a pig skeleton. There were secondary inhumations in the middle of the three surviving enclosure ditches.

8.4.2 Buckinghamshire

Aylesbury, Walton Court: Two silver units and a bronze unit were found unstratified on this LPRIA and Roman settlement which lay along the eastern side of a stream. The three coins all came from different parts of the site and all the finds were recovered by metal detector from an area of c.200 square metres. The location and other finds would indicate a ritual connection. In all fifteen brooches were recovered from the site including a cockerel brooch. Other finds were four pieces of 1st century AD military equipment, a

model copper alloy scythe, a pair of tweezers, a cast copper alloy bar with a zoomorphic mask, two furniture terminals, eight steelyard weights, three copper alloy finger rings, a fragment of a Bronze Age socketed axe, two iron knives, a fragment of a large Roman quern, iron working slag and 199 Roman coins (including six Claudian issues).

Bletchley, Saffron Gardens: Rescue watching briefs noted pits, slots and ditches which formed part of the remains of a LPRIA settlement on the west bank of the River Ouzel. Most notable was a large bottle shape depression 19'x8' with four burnt stones in centre and containing an abundance of pottery. A silted up river channel nearby contained three post holes and beam slots interpreted by the excavator as a bank revetment. On the river bank itself was an inhumation burial of an headless adult male. The other reported finds include several unidentifiable LPRIA copper alloy objects described in the SMR as 'odd'. No Roman finds were reported. Only one unstratified bronze Iron Age was found.

Bletchley, Sherwood Drive: An unstratified bronze unit was found on Area One which consisted of a substantial 1st century AD boundary ditch. During the Roman period the interior was covered by a cobble layer and a small stone building (5m square), the south-east end of which was open with traces of burning outside. The function of the building is not known but the quantity of small finds, too many and of high status for a rural farm, point to a religious function.

Bradwell, Bancroft Roman Villa: Iron Age coins came from both the site of the villa and the temple/mausoleum. There were four coins from the area of the villa. One came from the topsoil, two came from the destruction deposits over and surrounding the main villa building, and one came from an unpublished context. The villa building is unusual in being fronted by a large pond and having a polygonal temple positioned by its south front corner. It is notable that eighteen spearheads were found during the course of the excavation, mostly from the temple/mausoleum site but there were also five from the villa site. The coin from the temple/mausoleum was from the topsoil. There was no evidence of LPRIA occupation on the villa site, but on the temple/mausoleum site there was occupation debris and a roundhouse was located within an enclosure over which the temple/mausoleum was later constructed. The enclosure had a pit by its entrance, with a

very large irregular pit outside. To the south of the enclosure was a cremation cemetery containing seventeen cremations (Williams and Zeepvat 1994).

Gayhurst, Blacklands: Two bronze units were found when fieldwalking a site previously excavated in 1970 by the Ministry of Works (unpublished) when two stone round houses were found linked by a tesselated corridor. The plan is similar to the one seen at Easton Maudit, Northamptonshire (p.173). The survey also recovered eight Roman coins, an enamelled hare brooch and a complete nail cleaner.

Milton Keynes, Brinklow: Stripping revealed part of a 1st century AD enclosure (ditches located on north and east sides) containing an arc of postholes (diameter10m) possibly representing a round building in the northern centre of the enclosure, with several large pits (c.3m diameter) on its westside. One of these pits contained a gold stater. No other finds were reported from the context. The large size of the pits, larger than normal domestic rubbish pits, could suggest a ritual function.

Milton Keynes, Fenny Lock: Three bronze units were found. One came from the boundary ditch of a rectangular enclosure. Few internal features in the enclosure were recognised. The second coin was from the topsoil overlying the enclosure. An adjoining enclosure of similar dimensions contained a number of ring ditches. Another bronze unit found unstratified in an enclosure cut by a pit alignment.

Stanton Low: A gold quarter stater and two bronze units were found unstratified during excavations (Woodfield and Johnson, 1989). In the LPRIA at least six small round houses existed on a site by the bank of the river Ouse bounded on their non river sides by a substantial ditch. A series of close set parallel ditches had been dug often with the round houses at their ends. In the mid 1st century AD the round houses appear to have been burnt and some destruction deposits contained whole pots. The 2nd century saw the construction of three large 'villas' in an enclosure and another 'villa' flanking it with a bath house attached. The 'villas' contained mosaics and hypocausts.

Most remarkable amongst the finds were an enamelled plate brooch in the form of an oil lamp viewed from above, a copper alloy handle depicting two opposing dolphins, a

complete decorative nail cleaner, an iron coulter, the claw foot of a ceremonial copper alloy tripod which had been placed with a hoard of iron objects under a Roman floor, a copper alloy tabular 'occultists' ingot, a bone flute and an iron block anvil. Seventy-six Roman coins were recovered during the excavation, the earliest and most unusual being a Claudian *quadrans* which was found on a primary hut surface. The finds suggest a ceremonial/religious function for this unusual grouping of Roman buildings and the preceding Iron Age structures. Iron Age coins have also been found on the opposite bank of the river Ouse at Haversham (see Appendix A).

Walton, Wavendon Gate (Bucks,): A bronze unit was recovered from the fill of a substantial mid 1st century AD ditch which ran down the middle of a large rectangular enclosure, dividing it into two halves. The ditch alignments continued in use until the late 3rd century. The enclosure contained several small bays, all of which abutted the central ditch. Another ditch running parallel to it had three horse skulls and long bones placed in its upper fill which was interpreted by the excavator as a votive deposit. Immediately to the east of the central ditch was a large pit which was cut into a hollow and had steps leading down into it. The pit contained many waterlogged remains including a wooden 'Taranis' wheel. This remarkable site was interpreted by its excavators as a possible solar cult centre (Williams, Hart and Williams 1996, 31).

8.4.3 Cambridgeshire

Cambridge, Castle Hill: Four silver and four bronze units were recovered during the course of these excavations about which little detailed data is available (Alexander and Pullinger 2000). The recent publication of the site was too late for inclusion in the thesis although Appendix A has been checked and updated. The following information is derived from Haselgrove (1987). One bronze unit came from the lower fill of a well that had been sealed and partially filled by a 2nd century inhumation. Another bronze unit came from a shallow pit or depression cut into the natural, the fill contained pottery down to the end of the 1st century AD. A silver unit was described as coming from "Belgic gateway footings" which may refer to an entranceway pit, a comparatively common place for the deposition of coins (see Baldock Site A etc. p.162). Another silver unit came from a LPRIA ditch terminal, which also fits the deposition pattern. The final silver unit came from a 'layer'.).

Wimblington, Stonea: A large number of Icenian coins, including at least one hoard (Chadburn 1996), have been found around the site of a substantial 2nd century Roman structure interpreted as a tower. Late Iron Age remains were sparse but the site falls within a "very large enclosure" (Jackson and Potter 1996, 677). The site, which forms a low island in the fens, is thought to have become flooded in the later prehistoric period. Finds of a duck attachment, a strap union, two terrets and a tankard handle show high status activity of either an elite or ritual kind in the LPRIA. To the north-east (c.140m) of the excavation was a Romano-Celtic temple, which had a pit in its centre, and a possible Iron Age precedent. Very few finds were recorded from the temple site. To the south of the tower building is Stonea Camp, thought to have originated in the 2nd century BC as a religious centre enclosed by a bank (Jackson and Potter 1996, 677). Also in close proximity to the site were a Neolithic cursus and several round barrows all of which indicate a long-standing ritual use for the island.

Two coins were found in stratified contexts during the excavation of the tower building complex. One was thought by the excavators to have been deliberately placed into the north wall of the tower building, while the other was from a pit which contained 3rd century pottery. The pit is located immediately to the south-east of the tower building just inside the corner of its enclosure. It is suggested here that the tower building was not as an Imperial centre-piece for an administration and market centre (Jackson and Potter 1996, 688) but a temple, the tower, which was architecturally embellished, being similar to the towers that have survived from some Romano-Celtic temples (e.g. Autun, France). The tower was separated from the domestic buildings, which were in a separate compound (Jackson and Potter 1996, 678), leaving an open space around the tower, called a piazza by the excavators, which can be now be correspondingly interpreted as a *temenos* area. Furthermore, a large number of Roman coins were found on the 'piazza', which also included a well had steps leading down to it and, more significantly, a massive hollow was found, called a 'sump' that measured 27 x10 m and over 3m deep. The 'sump' contained over 98, 000 pieces of wood and is best seen as a votive hollow of the type described above (pp.171-72). A quantity of Roman votive material, as well as the Iron Age coins, was found by metal detectorists covering a large area, the material included two bronze busts (possibly of Minerva), a gold votive plaque dedicated to

Minerva, a ring inscribed MER (?Mercury), a miniature bronze cockerel, two votive bronze model axes, a mother goddess figurine and a horse-and-rider brooch.

8.4.4 Hertfordshire

Aston, Great Humphrey: Two gold staters were found, 50 metres apart, during trial trenching on a hill top site in the same field as the Aston mirror had previously been discovered (Rook, Lowery, Savage and Wilkins 1982, 18-24). The only feature located was a very substantial ditch with LPRIA Gallo-Belgic pottery forms at the bottom and late Roman wares at the top. It is significant that the ditch contained a Romano-British bronze cockerel, suggesting that the ditch was of high enough status to be marked with important votive objects.

Ware, Glaxo (Herts.): Two bronze coins were found, one was unstratified and the other came from a post hole belonging to a late Roman building that fronted Ermine Street. The site has been interpreted as an undefended LPRIA and Romano-British trading settlement extending along Ermine Street were it crosses the Lea. Excavations in 1980 (Grew 1981, 347) revealed a 4m square building with a portico which was interpreted as a shrine. Ovens and iron roasting kilns were found nearby and a large well containing numerous pig and dog skeletons. Several other workshops were located fronting the road (Partridge 1981b, Godwin 1991). The presence of the river, metal working, a shrine and pig and dog burials may indicate a ritual focus

Welwyn Hatfield, Lockleys Villa: Two bronze units were recovered during the excavation of a Roman villa not far from the Welwyn elite burials (Ward-Perkins 1938). One was unstratified the other was found in what was considered to be the make-up layer for the earliest villa building (c.AD 60-70). The layer also contained three local TN imitations, butt and girth beakers, three sherds of Claudian Samian, a copper alloy Colchester derivative brooch, and an Aucissa brooch with niello. The finds would point to a high status activity in the LPRIA but there is not enough data to determine if this is elite, ritual or both. Although the presence of the later villa, and the unusual Aucissa brooch may, may point to both.

Wheathampstead: A large bronze unit of Tasciovanus was found in a LPRIA ditch terminal. The only other finds from the ditch were metal working crucibles containing silver residues and part of a mould for making a bronze item, possibly a chariot fitting (S. West pers. comm.). A number of Iron Age coins have also been found on the other side of the river (see Appendix A).

8.4.5 Northamptonshire

Brigstock: Although only one gold stater was found during the excavation of a circular Roman shrine (Greenfield 1963) it is notable because it was found in the silt layer on the floor of the shrine. The silt layer also included a quantity of Roman votive material including statuettes, sceptres, miniature axe, three ritual rattles and a miniature altar. Just as a number of important shrines can be recognised along the River Ouse (p.81, e.g. Old Stratford, Thornborough, Borton, Radwell, Tingewick, Croughton and Evenley) possibly following a tribal boundary, a similar picture would appear to exist on the Catuvellauni/Corieltauvi boundary in Northamptonshire/Rutland where Roman temples with evidence for Iron Age activity have been recognised at Brigstock, Thistleton and Collyweston.

Hackleton, Piddington Roman villa: Of the two bronze units found during excavations of a courtyard villa building one was unstratified while the other came from the fill of a LPRIA ditch. The other finds from the ditch were a Nauheim derivative brooch, a Langton Down brooch and a fantail brooch, a large rim sherd of a TN platter and other TN sherds, channel rim jar sherds and fragments of a carinated bowl. Such finds, especially the brooches and the imported pottery, are very unusual in the county and are not likely to represent a random collection of rubbish. A deliberate votive deposit for these objects is postulated.

Hardingstone: A potin coin was recovered from a LPRIA ditch during the excavation of a LPRIA and early Roman kiln site (Woods 1969). The coin (which was associated with hand-made pottery jars with curvilinear decoration, local shelly wares, Romanised 'Belgic' sherds and some Roman sherds) came from the deliberate fill of a second recut of a ditch. Iron Age coins are very rarely assocated with LPRIA sites in Northamptonshire. A correlation between some kiln sites and coins has been noted (pp.192 and 204).

Irthlingborough, Crow Hill: A bronze unit was found during a watching brief in a small hill fort. No further information is available. The function of hillforts as ceremonial religious enclosures and not as purely defensive structures is well established. Coins have been found at other hillforts within the study area e.g. Uffington, Wendelbury, Cholesbury and Wilbury. The presence of Romano-Celtic temples within a number of hillforts, e.g. Maiden Castle, South Cadbury, Lydney and Chanctonbury may reflect the sense of continuing reverence for such a location.

Norton, Bannaventa: A silver unit (Lx14) was found incorporated into the rampart of this site. The site surrounded by a square triple ditch is interpreted as either a Roman fort or a small Roman town. Nothing is known about its internal layout. Metal detectorists have recovered seven other Iron Age coins around the enclosed area and a number of Roman small finds that could be interpreted as votive. These finds (see Appendix A for full list) include a seal box, a panther shaped bronze vessel terminal, a shoe brooch, a silver finger ring with a cornelian intaglio engraved with an eagle's head, another silver finger ring with a cornelian intaglio depicting Mars and a quantity of Roman coins including at least twenty 1st AD century *denarii*.

Quinton: A bronze unit was found in a ditch associated with a ritual enclosure containing probable votive pits (see p.182).

Raunds, Stanwick Villa: Eleven bronze units and a gold quarter stater were found during large scale excavations of an extensive villa complex with associated mausolea, shrines and outbuildings. The data from the site is still being analysed. The majority of the coins were unlocated surface or unstratified finds. The quarter stater came from what was described as a spread on a crew yard. One bronze unit came from the ploughsoil overlying a circular building (see discussion above on possible ritual interpretation of some circular buildings), a further coin came from plough soil north of the main villa courtyard. One coin came, significantly, from plough soil overlying what was termed the '*temenos*': a Roman walled area around a Bronze Age round barrow against which an enormous number of oyster shells were deposited.

Wakerley: An unstratified South Ferriby silver unit was recovered during the excavation of what was originally believed to be a typical middle and late Iron Age enclosed settlement (Jackson and Ambrose 1978) but has recently been reinterpreted by Gwilt (1997) as a settlement with a strong ceremonial component positioned on an earlier land boundary. The ceremonial status is emphasised by two probable shrines placed near the entrance to the main enclosure.

Weekley: Three bronze units, all stratified, were found during the excavation of a LPRIA rural site interpreted by its excavator as a series of strongly defended rural settlement enclosures (Jackson and Dix 1987). A detailed analysis by Gwilt (1995) reinterprets the settlement as being on a border between two social territories during the LPRIA. The layout of the site and the structured nature of the finds, particularly the exceptional assemblage of Hunsbury-Draughton wares, suggested to Gwilt that the site functioned as an architecturally elaborate gateway complex which straddled the boundary; emphasising the crossing between the two sides. An interesting piece of ritual architecture was recorded in enclosure K. Here an Iron Age ditched roadway was incorporated into the enclosure. It would appear (after Gwilt 1995) that the enclosure was deliberately positioned to block the movement of people along the double ditched trackway. People moving along the trackway would first be faced by a double gate before being channelled into the enclosure by a narrow passageway flanked by a palisade on either side. A four post structure would then have to be entered before entering a circular building. The purpose of such ritual social interaction where the boundary crosses the road remains uncertain.

Two bronze units came from enclosure C (100m due east of enclosure K). One came from the south-east corner of the enclosure ditch, the other from a penannular gulley associated with a circular building which lay on the west side of the enclosure. The enclosure was unusual in having entrances in both its east and west sides, both of which were highly elaborate, through which the movement of people is implied. Another bronze unit came from a Roman road surface which ran to the east of enclosure C and cut through enclosure B.

Following the conquest a Roman villa was constructed immediately to the north of enclosure C suggesting a ritual boundary focus for the villa. A number of LPRIA/Roman pottery kilns were also constructed over the site producing fine wares, notably Gallo-Belgic copies, suggesting that a ritual location for this activity may also be seen as appropriate (see also Hardingstone p.201 for connection of coins and fine pottery production)

As we described above (p.114), numismatic evidence can be shown to support the archaeological evidence for a major boundary at Weekley; indicated by a switch in regional coinage type from issues attributed to the Trinovantes/Catuvellauni to those attributed to the Corieltauvi. This would suggest a shift in boundary.

8.4.6 Oxfordshire

Abingdon, Barton Court Farm: An unstratified bronze unit was found in the course of the excavations. During the LPRIA the site consisted of a trapezoid ditched enclosure with a subsidiary enclosure in the north-west corner containing a round house with south-east facing entrance and associated pit (Miles 1978). The features that make the site stand out against other LPRIA farmsteads is the rectangular enclosure with a west facing entrance, against the normal east or south-east, or rising sun, facing entrances usually found. The rectangular enclosure was positioned within the larger enclosure. The only feature within the rectangular enclosure was a cremation. Outside the entrance to the rectangular enclosure were a series of large pits and hollows.

Abingdon, Vineyard: Two unstratified bronze units were found during the excavations. The excavations revealed (Allen 1997) a large LPRIA settlement by the River Stert, near its confluence with the Thames, surrounded by a massive series of banks and double ditches on the landward side. The distance across the ditches from edge to edge was 34m. Although the site was interpreted as a "bustling riverside market centre" (Allen 1997, 48) its riverside location and the monumental proportion of the ditches might argue for a ceremonial/cult site rather than as a trading centre. Details of finds assemblages are not yet available for interpretation. At least another ten coins are recorded from Abingdon (see Appendix A) supporting the high status of the site.

Asthall: A Dobunnic silver unit was found were subsequent excavations revealed extensive evidence for Roman iron smithing within an enclosure part of which was put aside for burials in which three adult inhumations, seven infant inhumations and three cremations were recovered (Booth 1993). This is another example where a coin is associated with iron smithing. The ritual importance attached to iron working may be reflected in the closely associated cemetery. There was no reported evidence for Iron Age activity.

Dorchester-on-Thames: A series of excavations (Atkinson, Piggott and Sanders 1951; Frere 1984) revealed an extensive series of ritual monuments and enclosures stretching back to the Neolithic and including a cursus, a monumental square-ditched enclosure, a series of henges and a number of beaker burials. An early post-conquest fort was placed nearby which developed into a small town. Remains of a substantial LPRIA settlement were found below the town. The presence of a fort would suggest that the site had a considerable status. A rampart was erected around the town in the late 2nd century. It has been suggested (Harding 1972, 127) that the Dorchester and Wittenham (which has also produced Iron Age coins - see Appendix A) area falls on a tribal boundary and it may be this and its riverside location that gave the site its status.

A silver LX unit came from a pre-rampart layer below the west rampart; the context also contained samian and LPRIA/early Roman coarse wares and overlay a LPRIA gulley. A bronze unit was recovered from the make-up of the west rampart. The make-up at this point also included a number of Gallo-Belgic pottery imports which are comparatively rare finds this far west. Two bronze units came from the make-up of the south rampart one of which was associated with Trajanic samian, burnished and colour coated coarse wares.

Further excavation finds from Dorchester include a bronze unit from the Beech House Hotel site where a coin came from a 2nd century building make-up deposited which also contained samian and Roman coarse wares. Excavations on the Allotment site located a bronze unit, associated with late 1st century AD sherds, in the fill of a large shallow hollow. On the edge of Dorchester, in Overy Field, a gold stater was recovered by metal

detecting. Two gold staters had previously also been found in the same field. This site is interpreted by Rowley (1975) as a religious site.

Radley, Thrupp House Farm: An unstratified bronze unit was found during the excavation of six penannular enclosures with hut gullies, and a crouched burial. No further details are available for this site which is on a few hundred yards from the Thames. A neighbouring Neolithic ring ditch may point to a long-standing ceremonial focus for the site.

Shakenoak Roman villa: A Dobunnic silver unit was found in a levelling layer below a late Roman floor. The layer overlay the fill of a Roman cellar which had two niches in its wall and which was interpreted by its excavators as a shrine (Brodribb, Hands and Walker 1971).

Although the 39 excavations described above represent only a small sample of each site in each case, and the excavation record is often limited, the general trends seen in the large scale excavations are repeated and are summarised below.

Site associated with water	47%
Site near prehistoric ritual monument	15%
Toilet instruments	28%
Votive objects (e.g. model axes, statuettes)	28%
Metalworking	18%
Brooches	61%

Table 24: Characteristics of sites that have received limited excavation

Toilet instruments, votive objects, brooches and evidence for metalworking has been recorded at a large proportion of the sites many of which are near water (including springs, river sources and rivers) or near prehistoric monuments (particularly barrows e.g. Shillington, Bedfordshire (below)). In two instances (5%) coins were found in contexts with worked flints and in another two cases the sites were associated with fine pottery production.

8.5 Hoards

Hoards found within the study area have been discussed above (pp.102ff). But there are two collections of staters, both regarded by their respective Coroners as constituting hoards, which require further comment. A very large number of coins was recovered by metal detectorists, partly under the auspices of the British Museum, at Essendon in Hertfordshire. A total of 257 gold coins were found between 1992 and 1994. Although all the coins came from the topsoil and were widely scattered, Ian Stead (pers. comm.) has postulated from the geographical concentrations of the coins that there were at least two hoards present. One large hoard probably consisting of some of the Gallo-Belgic E staters, British QB staters and British QC quarter staters. Stead considered that another consisted of inscribed staters and quarter staters of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin, even though these issues were widely scattered, purely on the chronological association of issue date. A number of coins, described by the metal detectorists as 'small' (possibly Gallo-Belgic D quarter staters (J. Williams pers. comm.)), were found by metal detector users associated with a torque, the fragments of which had been scattered over 18 square metres. Gallo-Belgic A and British A staters were also found in the vicinity of the torque as were four unspecified ingots. A number of coins were plated forgeries.

Apart from the coins a baldric ring, part of a La Tène III scabbard, four Roman *denarii*, ten worn 1st and 2nd century Roman coins, parts of a Colchester and a Nauheim derivative brooch, coarse pottery sherds and a hoard of weapons were found. Fragments of a bronze vessel were found in the vicinity of the torque (the handle, however, was found some distance away). The area was waterlogged in antiquity and appears to have been delimited, at least on three sides, by substantial ditches (Stead 1993, 1994). The Essendon 'hoards' would appear to represent the discovery of an extensive votive deposit in a watery context, the sacred area being delimited by ditches. The assertion, based on traditional numismatic tendances to group coins together, not otherwise closely associated in the soil or with evidence of a dispersal mechanism such as ploughing, and call it a hoard is untenable for such sites. Such a deposit may be viewed as a series of discrete votive deposits of one or more coins within a specified sacred area, as has been recorded within the *temenos* areas of temples.

A similar situation is likely to exist at Shalstone, Buckingham in 1997. Here fifteen British LB staters were found along with twenty-three British QB staters. Most were found within 10m2 but a few were found up to 70m away. The Buckinghamshire County Council Field Archaeologist thought that this represented a dispersed hoard, yet the finder reported that the coins, mostly found below the ploughsoil, formed a number of smaller independent and single groups (G. Croucher pers. comm.). Interestingly the field yielded a quantity of Romano-British finds, none of which were high status finds, and no further Iron Age material.

From multiple finds such as Essendon and Shalstone it is possible to infer that some collections of numerous precious metal coins from a field, or adjoining fields, termed dispersed hoards on chronological grounds, but where there is little evidence for post-depositional dispersal, may represent a series of distinct votive deposits. Examples are the collections from several sites around High Wycombe (Buckinghamshire) e.g. Field 205 and Field 207A, the Chatteris (Langwood Hill) hoard (Cambridgeshire), and the Berkhampsted (Broadway Farm) hoard (see Appendix A for further details of the hoards). It would also account for hoards with problematical chronological disparity such as the Harpsden hoard (Oxfordshire) or the collection from a field near the river at Wheathampstead. It would also explain coins that numismatists find difficult to explain when attempting to reconstruct 'scattered' hoards such as the Chippenham (Kings Fen) hoard (Cambridgeshire), where the hoard was considered to be composed of six staters of the same type issued by Cunobelin but in amongst the scatter of which was an Icenian silver unit and a Cunobelin bronze unit. At this site the finders also recovered twenty-five Republican *denarii* (interpreted as a scattered hoard), eleven *denarii* of Augustus, three *denarii* and an *aureus* of Tiberius, and an *aureus* of Claudius I, all of which point to a series of votive deposits of some importance.

If it is accepted that such collections are votive deposits and not savings hoards in the traditional sense (see above p.102) as is further indicated by the metalwork associated with the Keep Slope Hill hoard (below), the Snettisham hoards and the close association of many hoards with water sources, then attention should also be drawn to sites such as Shillington (Bedfordshire). This site is positioned on a prominent hill top position next to a Neolithic long barrow (Curteis and Burleigh forthcoming). At Shillington in 1997 metal

detectorists recovered a collection of 127 Roman Imperial *aurei* and 18 Republican and Imperial *denarii*, several pieces of fine bronze work (including a nail cleaner and a dagger hilt decorated with a boar's head), late Iron Age pottery, and three Iron Age bronze units. It would appear that the gold coins were deposited as a single hoard but the silver coins were deposited in packages over a period of time. Without the attendant assemblage the two bronze units would not attract attention, yet here with little recognisable occupation debris having been recovered, the coins must be seen in a votive light. If we start to see small assemblages of Iron Age base metal coins in a votive way, having already seen that it can be demonstrated from excavated examples, that coins tend to enter the archaeological record as deliberate votive deposits, then the repercussions for all casual finds of Iron Age coins whatever their metal is obvious. This becomes particularly apparent when examining assemblages of casual detector finds.

8.6 Site collections

A number of sites within the study area which have yielded Iron Age coins that have not been archaeologically explored and are poorly understood. Some of these sites are regularly visited by metal detector users who have found a quantity of other material, particularly Roman, that they have made available for study. The material from the assemblages discussed below has all been reported to have been found in a tightly defined geographical area; having been found either in the same field or in adjoining fields. Finds with uncertain or imprecise find spots are not included e.g. where a number of coins are recorded from a given parish but the association of the coins and other finds is unknown, therefore collections such as those from Sandy, Duston or Ware, are excluded from the study. Only assemblages with at least two Iron Age coins and having other associated material are included. From an analysis of the associated material, and any other information on a site (where this is available), it is hoped that it may be possible to elucidate the nature and status of a site.

Unfortunately Iron Age coins found by metal detectorists are rarely recorded with any associated material. Although the picture is beginning to change with the introduction of the Portable Antiquities Finds Liaison Officer Scheme, many coins reported since the advent of the metal detector have been reported to the Celtic Coin Index (the main repository for recorded find spots) where there is no remit to ascertain further

archaeological data; or to museums or field archaeology units where there has been interest in the associated finds but (often) not in the coins which are poorly recorded or mis-identified. There are also instances, from the author's experience, where the finders will let the coin be recorded but wish other material to remain unrecorded and information is given out sparingly: the recorders preferring to keep the full data to themselves until they feel the time is appropriate for it to enter the public domain or they bias assemblages by not collecting or declaring poorly preserved material. Consequently the number of detector assemblages, from within the study area, containing coins and other material is not comprehensive: evidence for metalworking is unlikely to be recognised or collected and stone implements only collected from a visual search. The more important groups are described below listed by county and parish order. Much of the data is unpublished but full desciptions of material and background references, notably to museum object enquiry forms, can be found in Appendix A. The material is heavily biassed towards Northamptonshire because of the author's work in this area.

Site	IA coins	Brooches	Rings/bracelets	Toilet inst.	Misc. metalwork	Neol/BA artefacts	Other small finds	Comments
Kempston	1				2	1		Stater from riverbank with socketed axe and two Saxon brooches
Wymington	1	1	1			✓	✓	Including13+ Roman *aes* and pin. Spring in next field with hoard of BA axes.
Bourton (Buckingham)	1	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	Near Thornborough temple. Three adjoined fields produced very large amount of votive material incl. Model axes, model hammer, gold pendant, several bronze figurines
Clifton Reynes	5	11	4	1		3		Finds from field incl. Flint knives, finger rings, cosmetic trough, c.200 Roman coins
Danesborough	2		1				1	Included a Republican *denarius* and silver torc-like bracelet
H. Wycombe Field 205	4				2	1		Two AR and two AV coins found with 37 Roman coin (8 AR), BA axe, Janus-head mount and hinge-plate
H.Wycombe Field 207A	18	1	1		1	1	✓	Two AV, 12 AR and 4 AE found in field with 63 Roman coins (incl. Republican *denarius*) and incl. Spearhead, pin and flint flake.

H.Wycombe Keep Slope Hill	11				1	1		From same find spot as AV staters found in flint nodule was a sceptre with bust of MinerVAand a barbed and tanged arrowhead
Olney Ashfurlong	1	1	1		1		17	AE unit in field with 6 Roman coins, rare glass sherd, samian, buckle and ring
Princes Risborough The Cop	6				2	2	60+	Found in a field in close proximity to a polished flint axe, BA palstave and iron spearhead, over 50 Roman coins, boars tusk, glass beads, glass vessels, samian , bone pin and nails.
Shenley Grange Farm	1	2					22	AR unit found near 22 Roman coins, enamelled trumpet brooch and lugged plate brooch
Stone	1	3					80+	Finds incl. quantity of slag, lead dice, spindle whorls and over 80 Roman coins
Thornborough (A)	25	17		✓	✓		✓	Finds from near Padbury Brook near Romano-Celtic temple incl. 200+ Roman coins, three bronze figurines, gold leaf plaque, spoon and wheel brooch.
Thornborough (B)	3				3			Two fields from above. Finder also reports three model axes
Aldbury	1	2	2		3		125+	Workmen reported tesserae, three fragments of bronze sheets, two finger-rings, 122 Roman coins, two plate brooches (one in the form of a leaf)
Ashwell	29	17	✓	✓	✓	2	✓	Riverside near warm springs. Adjoining fields have produced large quantity of material incl. 254+ Roman coins, brooches incl. birdlip brooch and phallus plate brooch, decorative silver plaque, bronze mount in form of a bust, 6 handles from bronze vessels, BA socketed axe and BA sword
Hinxworth Middle Farm	4				1		25	Two AE and two AR units from two adjoining fields. Other finds were model altar, 25 Roman coins (incl. 3 *denarii* and three *siliquae.)*
St Albans Windridge Farm	11	4+			27+	2	40+	Large assemblage of finds incl. snaffle bit, plaque, enamelled linch pin, casket mounts, harness pendant, apron mount, sling shots, face pendant, Palaeolithic axe, 40+ Roman coins (incl. Republican *denarius*)
Ware Bakers End	3+	3			1			Found in large field with three brooches and Roman dagger chape. NB other coins with Ware provenance.

Brafield	5	10	2		3	1	36	Finds incl. 35 Roman coins (incl. 4 *denarii*), Iron Age votive dagger, glass bead, two lead weights, quartz hammer-stone and hair pin
Castle Ashby	1	7	3			17	200+	Finds from the field incl. two silver rings, an Iron Age penannular brooch, Roman imported painted glass, flint tools (incl. three arrowheads), lead dice and over 200 Roman coins. Tesserae also reported
Croughton	2	4	3	1	9	1	60	Two AV staters from field containing Orpheus mosaic, evidence for lead and bronze working, pewter plate, nail cleaner, lion statuette, furniture terminal, lead weight, pewter vessel and 60 Roman coins. Near river Ouse
Deanshanger Briary Wood	4	16	12	3	10+	1	10+	Finds from field incl. 202 Roman coins (incl. Republican *denarius*), three silver rings (one with Mercury intaglio), five bracelets, three silver hair pins, triangular plaque, part of a mirror, Iron Age quern, copper alloy sheets and lead weights
Evenley	71	91	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Vast quantity of material from c.0.5 km square incl. 3,255 Roman coins, four hare-and-hound folding knives, hare brooch and horse-and-rider brooch, model sword, two model axes. By River Ouse
Higham Ferrers	4	8	4		1	3		Finds incl. three rings (one silver with inscription), hair pin, polished flint axe, part of a statuette and two trumpet brooches.
Irchester	2	9	1	1	6	1	✓	Finds incl. dressel 1b handle, samian, two rosette brooches, part of a votive shield, ritual rattle, perforated lead hare and two bronze sheets with decoration. Bronze slag.
Long Buckby Bannaventa (N. of)	2	1	2		1	1	✓	Finds from field incl. a silver ring with Mars intaglio, steelyard weight, bronze palstave, four *denarii*, hairpin and disc brooch
Norton Bannaventa (S. of)	3	2	1		13		✓	Finds from field incl. 13 *denarii* (out 0f c.300 coins), seal box, sandal brooch, silver ring with eagle head intaglio, five lead weight, furniture terminal and key handle

Old Stratford	2	2	11		✓	1	✓	From field near river Ouse containing probable Romano-Celtic temple. Numerous finds incl. 1250 Roman coins, two votive axes, model tortoise, handle in form of hand holding ball, inscription clamp in form of finger, hoard of inscribed silver votive plaques to Jupiter, Mars and Vulcan. Metalworking slag.
Paulerspury Park Farm	1	7	8	2	9		2	Finds incl. five rings, weight in form of semitic bust, bronze ritual rattle, jet counter, nail cleaner and tweezers, fine vessel glass and furniture fitting
Potterspury Redmoor Copse	1	9	5		✓		✓	Finds from field incl. decorated samiam sherds, phallic pendant, button-and-loop fastener, four spoon bowls, spoon pendant and 179 Roman coins
Stoke Bruerne Stoke Gap	3	22	12	3	✓	3	✓	Finds from field incl. female bust mount, double loop terret, fine vessel and window glass, iron spearhead and axe, seven hair pins, mirror fragment, a plate brooch with millefiori and 190 Roman coins.
Titchmarsh Springfield	27	22	7	1	✓		✓	Large quantity of material includes c.800 Roman coins, highly decorative strap-end, stylus, Iron Age and Roman pottery, decorative silver ?sceptre fitting, lots of lead weights.
Towcester	1		3		1			Stater near river Tove found in field with ornate strap-end, three decorated finger-rings, miniature gilded terret.

Table 25: Casually found assemblages containing Iron Age coins

The assemblages shown in the above table reflect the picture seen on excavated sites. Many sites are associated with water (rivers and springs), Ashwell for instance is associated with a series of thermal springs, and all contain relatively large concentrations of small finds. Nearly all sites have large assemblages of brooches and jewellery and several (32%) have toilet instruments. It is significant that evidence for metal working has been found at five sites when the searchers were not particularly looking for this category of find and the same is true for Neolithic and Bronze Age implements which were recorded at 19 (56%) of sites. Stone implements would only be recovered if visually detected and considered to be of value/significance by the finder and such a high percentage must be seen as non-accidental.

Material of obviously votive character (model objects, votive plaques, sceptre fittings and rattles) was recovered from 13 (38%) sites while bronze figurines (including mounts) where found at 9 (27%) sites. Such concentrations of metallic small finds are much higher than the norm and these larger assemblages would be considered unusual even when compared to assemblages from large scale Roman excavations (e.g. Northchurch, Boxmoor and Hemel Hempstead (Neal 1976)).

Spoons have been recovered from Ashwell and Potterspury; and silver rings (three with intaglios depicting Mars, Mercury and an eagle's head) have been recovered from seven sites. Pendants in the form of a phallus, human faces and a spoon were recovered from four sites; weaponry and hose/chariot trappings from six sites. All of these categories of material have been recognised at cult sites (Woodward 1992, 75) as having a votive function.

Brooches form another category of find often encountered on temple sites. Both Haselgrove (1997) and Woodward (1992) have emphasised the votive significance of this category of small find. The above sites include some large assemblages containing a variety of brooch types. It is interesting that in the two largest assemblages, Evenley and Old Stratford, both of which were recorded in full, there are large numbers of brooches from Evenley while at Old Stratford there are very few. Both sites are probably the locations for Romano-Celtic temples, part of a series along the Ouse which also includes Thornborough, and we must conclude that at Evenley brooches where seen as appropriate objects for deposition but that this was not the case at Old Stratford where other forms of metal work predominate.

Indeed, it is likely that a particular votive assemblage is characterised by the cult ideology practiced at each site. The spoons from Potterspury or the silver rings (as opposed to the more common copper alloy rings) from Deanshanger may also be the results of this. The worship of different deities may explain why Iron Age coins are present at some Romano-Celtic temples and not others and perhaps why at some sites silver coinage is comparatively more common than at others, e.g. the large number of *denarii* from around Bannaventa compared to the very few from Old Stratford or Evenley.

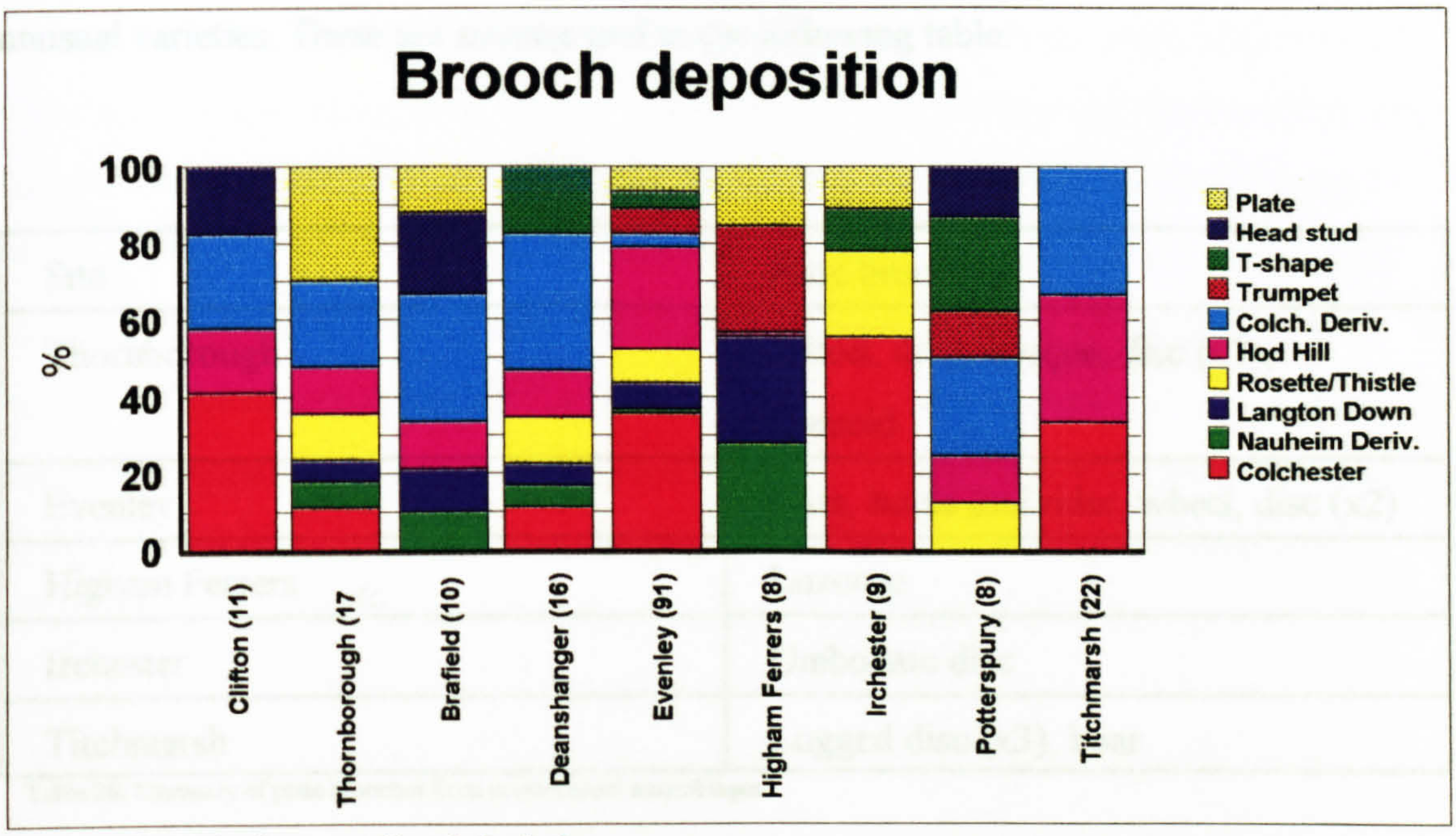

Fig 34: Graph showing frequency of brooch distribution

The graph (fig.34) shows that the frequency of types of brooch deposited varies from site to site. This is partly due to site chronology (Haselgrove 1997). Early brooch types are completely lacking, La Tène D brooches are only present at Evenley were they make up 3% of the assemblage. Nauheim Derivative brooches are also rare with the exception of Higham Ferrers. It is only with the development of the Colchester brooch in the Augusto-Tiberian period do we start to see large numbers of brooches deposited and this must reflect a significant change in attitudes to deposition. From this period onwards the emphasis is clearly on deposits made by individuals, as opposed to deposits made by a group or community, a practice which also reflected in the other categories of finds associated with coins most notably toilet utensils and jewellery.

A change in depositional practice in the Augusto-Tiberian period may also provide a non economic explanation for the appearance of more, particularly base metal, coins on sites where they are almost universally found as individual deposits in features.

Of the later brooch types the more elaborate types are well represented when compared to the twenty site mean for central and southern Britain prepared by Haselgrove (1997, 62 fig. 8.4). Rosette/Thistle brooches and, to a lesser extent, Trumpet brooches are particularly well represented as are Head Stud and T-shape brooches. Plate brooches,

which were also relatively common at Hayling Island, are represented by a number of unusual varieties. These are summarised in the following table:

Site	Plate brooches
Thornborough	Wheel, dragonesque, disc (x3), trapezoid
Evenley	Hare, horse-and rider, wheel, disc (x2)
Higham Ferrers	Lozenge
Irchester	Umbonate disc
Titchmarsh	Lugged disc (x3), boar

Table 26: Summary of plate brooches from major casual assemblages

It is interesting that the probable temple sites at Evenley and Thornborough have produced the most interesting assemblages with both wheel (solar deities) and horse-and-rider (martial deities) having more the obvious connotations.

The evidence drawn from the casual site find analyses points to the various sites, which are associated with Iron Age coins, as having a strong ritual bias if not purely ceremonial function. This is not to infer that all rural sites are ritual but that the sites that attract metal detectorists because of the wealth of material existing in the soil have a tendency to be so. Consequently this leads to a bias in such sites.

8.7 Negative evidence

The sites described above have been chosen because of the incidence of recovered coins and conclusions have been drawn to suggest how and why the coins came to be present in the archaeological record. Yet there is a much larger number of excavated LPRIA sites that have not produced any coins at all. For instance, the Northamptonshire SMR records that 83 sites with excavated evidence of LPRIA activity, but of these only 6 have produced coins. It has been noted (p.175) that where Iron Age coins are associated with Roman villa sites that have LPRIA precedents, then the coins are seldom found underlying the villa building itself, and there are also a number of extensively explored villas with evidence of LPRIA occupation that have produced no Iron Age

coins at all e.g. Lockleys and Chells Manor. We have also noted that, with very few exceptions, coins were not seen as suitable grave goods. This is particularly noticeable when several high status 'chieftain' or aristocratic burials are known from the study area, for example at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986), Hertford Heath (Hussen 1983) and Welwyn (Stead 1967). These graves contain a variety of rich grave goods, presumably for use in the after-life, which reflect the aristocratic life-style and obligations of the deceased. The non appearance of coins in a primary position in such graves could be taken to suggest that coins were not associated with the elite and their social obligations, as is generally believed (e.g. Kimes, Haselgrove and Hodder 1982, 118; Haselgrove 1993, 60; de Jersey 1996, 8-9; but also see above pp.161-62 and 193).

If we were to suggest that Iron Age coins were not functioning in a purely economic way, they certainly seem to have been considered to be of high status and are very rarely found on rural farmsteads. A large number of LPRIA farmsteads have been fully excavated in the study area that have not produced coinage or other high status objects. Examples are Stagsden (Dawson and Robinson 1992) and Salford Quarry (Clark 1991) in Bedfordshire, Crick (Chapman 1995), Aldwincle (Jackson 1977) and Ashley (Taylor and Dix 1985) in Northamptonshire, and Jacks Hill, Blackhorse Road (Letchworth) and Lobbs Hole (Stevenage) in Hertfordshire. There are a few sites which have which have produced coins but were categorised as 'rural farmsteads' in line with contemporary doctrine. A case in point is Wakerley, Northamptonshire (Jackson and Ambrose 1978), which was originally interpreted as a defended farmstead but has been reinterpreted as a ceremonial site possibly placed on a major boundary (Gwilt 1997) when old assumptions of site architecture and structure were reassessed in light of current thought.

In every instance of a certain or probable shrine/temple within the study area coins have been found to be present often in large numbers (for example see Ashwell, Evenley, Thornborough, Baldock and Verlamion above) giving a strong positive result for a ritual association that can be seen to be lacking with regards to sites that appear to have elite associations.

8.8 Conclusions

We have demonstrated above that coins have only been recovered from a small percentage of LPRIA and Roman sites that have been explored, strongly suggesting that coin use (or deposition) was confined to a minority of sites. Many of these sites can be shown to be of high status by the other finds they have produced. The evidence suggests that a significant proportion are also ritual/ceremonial sites, or at least have a significant ceremonial component, rather than simply being elite residences: many of the sites are associated with water, have yielded votive objects and have many other characteristics in common with ceremonial sites especially regarding site architecture and special deposits. Coins are not found, with very few exceptions, on the sites of Roman villas even where they overly substantial round houses. Neither are they associated with elite burials. Indeed, the majority of coins are not associated with any kind of residential structure. Coins are, however, very obviously associated with sites where a high degree of religious activity can be demonstrated i.e. shrines. Often the sites are of an indeterminate function but contain rich assemblages of small finds and special deposits that should suggest a ritual purpose.

On sites where coins do occur they do not tend to be treated as rubbish or appear to be casual losses: the pattern of deposition within the structure of the site appears to be carefully determined with a clear preference for entrances and boundaries. The more important the boundary, the more important the symbolic marking, and tribal boundaries appear to have been marked in a very rich way.

The context of deposition shows clear conscious selection with ditches, pits and watery contexts being preferred in the late Iron Age, while following the invasion ditches and floors or layers are the predominant context. The position within the feature was also structured with coins from all levels in the LPRIA with a slight preference for the bottom of features while in the Roman period the top of features was clearly preferred even in features of Roman date.

The contexts containing coins often contain unusually rich deposits. The other items in the contexts would also appear to have been specially selected and include above average collections of personal items in particular. There would suggest a linkage between the

two categories of find. The association of coins and personal items may reflect a change in society from one where offerings were community based to one where they were made by individuals; thus reflecting a shift in society structure from one where power is invested in the community to one where power is invested in the individual. From the evidence of the proliferation of base metal coins found in site contexts and from brooch analysis this shift would appear to have taken place in the Augusto-Tiberian period.

Some items in the deposits containing coins appear to have been deliberately curated, notably Neolithic and Bronze Age artefacts. It would seem that coins may also have been curated, most notably in the Roman period. The chronological deposition of coins is not a simple fall off curve from date of issue and the majority of the coins, even when they of considerable age when deposited, show little wear indicating that their age was not due to a long circulation life.

An argument could be made to suggest that, following the invasion, Iron Age coins lost their functional value and all post conquest deposits are therefore secondary. Some coins must, of course be residual, and the relative proportion of these must have increased through time as coins became redeposited from their primary contexts. The evidence, however, suggests that the majority of Roman contexts may also be primary because of the often rich and structured nature of the deposits that contain coins and the nature of the sites coins sometimes come from e.g coins from Roman temple sites that have been shown through excavation to have no obvious Iron Age precursor and consequently cannot be residual from a pre Roman context. We have also demonstrated that there does not appear to have been obvious large scale discard of Iron Age coins after the invasion, and although the favoured context of deposition does change, the preferred Roman ritual is also clearly structured and the tops of ditches were selected even when the ditch itself was of Roman date, not randomly spread through fills, which we would expect if this was a product of residuality.

There is little archaeological evidence for coins circulating as a form of currency or as having a clear economic value. Our evidence points to hoards as being votive deposits rather than representing savings and the majority of all stratified finds can be seen as deliberate structured deposits rather than casual losses of the type one may find in a

market place or in the discard of low value coins. This does not preclude an economic interpretation for a coin in circulation. Here we are only seeing the function of a coin in a depositional environment.

There is a tendency for coins to be associated with metalworking and metalworking sites, a function that would seem to be allied to religious activity, and also with fine pottery production which may have been viewed in a similar light to metalworking.

Coins in both the late Iron Age and Roman periods are only found to be concentrated in pits and hollows, often with a number of other small finds. Both are classes of feature that can be interpreted as functioning as gateways giving access to earth deities or the underworld, and hollows, in particular are closely associated with religious sites. The close association of Iron Age coins with industrial production, notably metalworking and pottery, can be seen in the same way, here the industrial process was regarded as a marginal activity, existing between worlds.

Therefore it would appear that Iron Age coins and base metal coins in particular, from Augustan times onwards, were deliberately deposited by individuals in a votive way and many other classes of object, especially brooches, jewellery and toilet instruments were similarly utilised. The obvious structuring of the deposits containing coins, the position of the coins within sites and the categories of site that yield coins would all suggest that coins were seen as particularly potent items for deposition.

9. SYMBOLISM ON COINS

In the previous section it was concluded that many Iron Age coins were deliberately collected and deposited in the ground in a ritual and symbolic way. If we are correct in this supposition then it should follow that the symbolism on the coins, which was carefully considered and executed, would have been of great significance to the people who used them.

The first detailed examination of the symbolism on coins was by Allen (1980) who, although suggesting that wheel motifs may have been sun symbols, tended to see a lot of imagery on coins as fantasy, ornamental or Celtic adaptions of Greek or Roman prototypes, and the subject of the "crankish interpreter in pursuit of devious religious symbolism" (Allen 1980, 148). Green (1992) provided the first examination of the iconography of coins and saw them as vehicles of religious symbolism although she did not see them as religious items in their own right; instead seeing the motifs on coins as symbols to reflect social stability, continuity and the importance of the ruler. Green did, however, examine specific themes on coins from a religious perspective and questioned the value of using classical iconography in all cases.

The most recent work has been carried out by Creighton (1995, 2000). He suggests, probably correctly, that all the 'fill-in ornaments', such as stars, pellets, wheels and circles, were important symbols within the overall design and not mostly stock-in-trade ornaments (Allen 1980, 149) or privy marks (van Arsdell 1989). Creighton (1995, 290-91) notes that there is a notable disjunction between the iconography and imagery on coinage and that on other forms of Insular British art. On other forms of metalwork cross-hatching and compass-work predominates; but cross-hatching is never seen on coins and in the case of compass-work the only example is a rare instance of a triskele. This would suggest that the design of coins was seen as a completely different medium to that of other metal work and therefore that the symbolism used on coins was only considered appropriate for use on coins.

Creighton (2000, 43-45) would see the complex symbolism seen on coins developing through serial imagery derived through altered states of consciousness (trance imagery),

but stopping with the development of paramount chiefdoms under Tincomaros and Tasciovanus, when power was subsumed by an individual. He suggests (Ibid, 87) that such leaders acquired classical imagery and Augustan values having been brought up in Rome as hostages (*obsides*). Although the imagery clearly became classical, such a method for the transmission of imagery seems unlikely (see also Williams 2001) and the symbolism would only be comprehensible to the new 'classically trained' elite. It is more likely that this new imagery was derived from Roman coinage, from contemporary Roman monumental architecture (both had imagery that reflected the ascent of Octavian to sole ruler of the Roman state), and intense, direct, Roman contact with Britain.

If the coins do bear significant and carefully thought-out designs then this may be reflected in the coins selected for deposition. If coins were being selected because of their associated symbolism, which we are assuming was related to the particular deity to which the coin was being offered, then deliberately deposited coins should have a non-random profile in terms of portrayed symbolism when comparisons are made between sites or, perhaps, even between features within sites.

The three main biases that could have a bearing on this study are:

i) Chronological - iconography may change through time.

ii) Geographical - some motifs may be more or less popular in different areas, or certain issues may only be distributed to particular areas.

iii) Issue size - the size of a particular coinage issue could skew a profile i.e. the more coins that were in circulation the greater the chance that they could have entered the archaeological record.

Consequently, for the current study only coins conventionally considered to have been issued under the authority of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin are included to minimise chronological bias. Other potential biases will be considered in the analyses of the data.

The issues included in the study are the more realistic 'Romanised' figures as opposed to the abstract or 'celiticised' designs which have been the subject of the most other studies (e.g. Creighton 1995). The 'Romanised' forms have had less detailed study as many researchers would appear to consider them imported motifs reflecting Roman

thought and ideas (e.g. Creighton 2000) and therefore not being Iron Age or 'Celtic' in concept, i.e. coming into the realm of the Romanist and not the prehistorian. However, although the engravers were evidently using Roman coins for inspiration of imagery, they were also using intaglios (Henig 1972), and the actual copying of Roman coins without deliberate variation or adaption is surprisingly rare (Allen 1980, 132).

A classical doctrine could lead us to conclude that the attributes of the figures depicted are the same as the classical Roman originals and hence linked to the concepts of the Roman pantheon, when the Celtic interpretation of a particular deity and its powers may be something rather different. Furthermore, we should not assume that the portraits seen on coins, notably those with the Cunobelin legends, are those of a paramount leader because they are contemporary with coins depicting Imperial Roman portraits. Such portraits could also depict the accepted characteristics of a deity, for example those with winged or horned busts, rather than a chief attempting to assume the attributes of a particular deity. Consequently because we cannot be sure who or what the bust is representing, and because the busts are associated with a vast array of reverse figure types, it is the figure type rather than the bust which is subjected to detailed analysis.

Fig.35 depicts the relative percentages of figure types from the seventeen most prolific sites within the study area for issues of Tasciovanus, Cunobelin. Only the more common figure types are selected for analysis and comparatively rare figure types such as dogs and seated female figures are not included to reduce skewing bias from single finds. With the exception of the goat and ram all types appear on coins of both issuers. Several figure types are linked together because they are often linked on obverse and reverse sides of a coin and therefore a symbolic connection between the two may be assumed. The linked figures include Pegasus with victory and griffin with sphinx and lion. In some cases the iconography is particularly complex, such as the issue depicting a victory sacrificing a bull (VA2099); in this particular instance the victory is seen as the predominant figure type as it is linked on the other face of the coin with Pegasus (a linking seen on other coins e.g. VA1979 while bulls and victories are otherwise not linked).

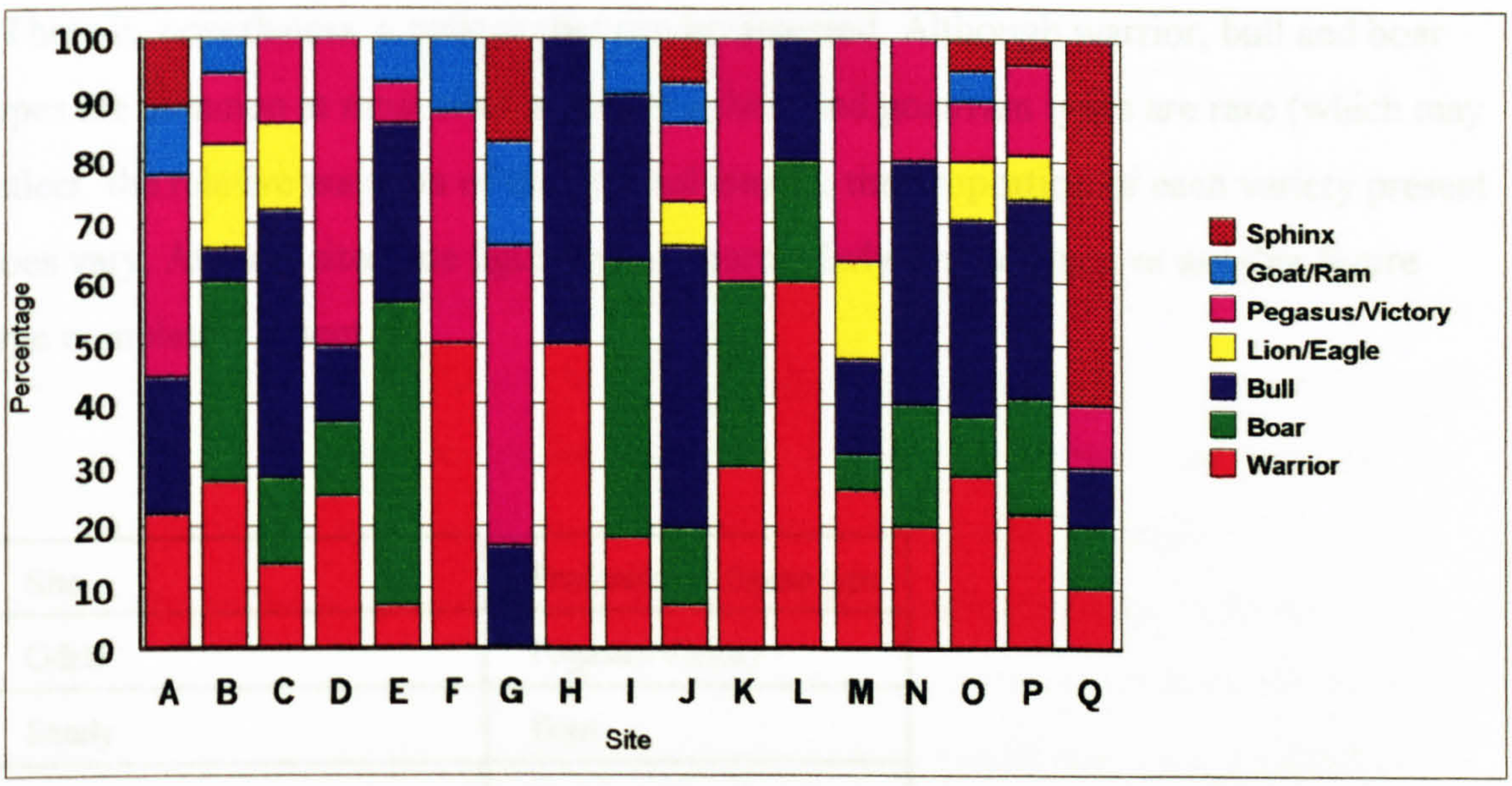

Fig.35: Analysis of differential coin deposition by figure type.
A = Odell (n = 9), B = Sandy (n = 17), C = Baldock site A (n= 7), D = Baldock BAL12/13 (n = 8), E = Baldock BAL1 (n = 14), F = Gorhambury villa (n = 8), G = Puckeridge Ermine Street A (n = 6), H = Puckeridge Opposite Smiths (n= 6), I = Puckeridge Roundabout (n = 11), J = Skeleton Green (n = 15), K = St Albans Hills Field (n = 10), L= Stanwick villa (n = 5), M = Thornborough (n = 18), N = Wellbury (n = 5), O = Ashwell (n = 21), P = Evenley (n = 27), Q= High Wycombe Field 207A (n = 10).

Precious metal hoards e.g. Whaddon Chase and Essendon are not included. Such collections are predominantly, if not completely, composed of gold coins. The selected figure types used on the gold coinage produced by the issuers in question is almost entirely composed of horse or mounted warrior motifs and would thus skew resulting profiles. The selection of these motifs on gold coins, does however, show the importance of, and the close connection between, horse and mounted warriors both of which must have been seen as potent symbols of power and sovereignty (see also Green 1986, 1992a, 1992b; and Creighton 1995 and 2000, 54) and therefore is most likely to be the reason why such symbolism was used on the gold coinage.

It is clear from the graph that the distribution of the more common figure types on coins of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin is not consistent between sites and no overall general profile pattern has appeared for figure types, even between sites which are geographically closely related, such as the Puckeridge sites. From a random distribution we would expect a similar profile developing between sites; reflecting the commonest type of coins in circulation. The pattern is complex, however: there is no absolute selection of figure types and the samples we are dealing with are often small.

There is, nonetheless, a pattern that can be detected. Although warrior, bull and boar types are common at most sites while the sphinx and goat/ram types are rare (which may reflect the relative numbers of the original issues), the proportion of each variety present does vary. At most sites one figure type is particularly predominant or another figure type completely absent.

Site	Predominant figure type
Odell	Pegasus/Victory
Sandy	Boar
Baldock A	Bull
Baldock 12/13	Pegasus/Victory
Baldock BAL1	Boar
Gorhambury	Warrior
Puckeridge Ermine Street A	Pegasus/Victory
Puckeridge Smiths	Bull/Warrior
Puckeridge Roundabout	Boar
Skeleton Green	Bull
St Albans Hills Field	Pegasus/Victory
Stanwick villa	Warrior
Thornborough	Pegasus/Victory
Wellbury	Bull
Ashwell	Bull
Evenley	Bull
High Wycombe Field 207A	Sphinx

Table 27: Predominate image type in major assemblages

The only site where the sphinx predominates is at High Wycombe Field 207A; here the type is represented by a number of silver units of the same type and may represent a scattered hoard. The main types present at the other sites are the bull, boar, warrior and pegasus/victory types. It is interesting that within two of the complexes featured in the study (Baldock and Puckeridge) different predominant figure types are represented, which may reflect a different functional aspect to each component of the complex. Similarly the two sites which are most likely to have been temple sites, Thornborough

and Evenley, have produced different profiles possibly reflecting different aspects of the deities worshipped.

An argument could be made to suggest that individual mints produced different figure types which were then distributed to different areas. Yet plots of VER and CAM legend coins show little variation across the study area. While plots of individual issues (these have been produced for most of the issues of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin) show no obvious geographical grouping suggesting that if they were produced by localised or mobile mints that this had little effect on distribution within the study area. We have also noticed that geographically and chronologically closely related sites (e.g. Baldock) have different figure type profiles. Such evidence suggests that issue patterns across the study area would only produce a small bias on profiles. Issues of Dias, Rues and Andoco appear to be more regionalised within our study area (see figs. 17 and 18) and could have a geographical biasing effect, but the issues of these minor rulers are comparatively rare compared to Cunobelin and Tasciovanus and therefore any resulting effect should be small.

The other possible effect that should be considered is chronology. It may be that different leaders preferred, or identified with, different figure types. For example the commonest issue of Tasciovanus within the study area depicts a bull (VA1808) which is also a theme seen on many other of his common issues. Alternatively, perhaps different figure types were preferred at different times for religious reasons, a modern example being the Chinese calendar. This still would not account for variations within sites that were occupied concurrently; and differential site profiles are also produced if we further narrow down the chronology of the issues used in the study to include only issues of Tasciovanus or Cunobelin.

It is notable that the two sites in the list have large Roman buildings of the type conventionally termed 'villa'. Stanwick and Gorhambury, are the only two sites were the warrior figure type predominates. Coins with warrior symbolism may indeed be seen as more appropriate for deposition in and around buildings that were associated with a warrior elite. It is particularly notable that the ten coins of the same type placed in a primary position in the burial in the King Harry Lane cemetery depict mounted warriors.

The King Harry Lane burial, which also contained an imported flagon, a platter, a jar and a Nauheim derivative brooch, should be seen as an elite burial. However, this association, if deliberate, is not seen at all villa sites that have produced Iron Age coins e.g. Piddington, Easton Maudit and Park Street.

Another aspect of figurative symbolism that should be examined is to see if there is a positive relationship between a depicted animal and an archaeologically recovered bone assemblage e.g. is there a preference for choosing coins with boars/sows on them on sites where pig bones predominate. There are only three sites within the study area that have produced large enough coin assemblages and have published bone assemblages which have been subject to a detailed enough study to produce a minimum number of individuals. These sites are Baldock (Stead excavations: Chaplin and McCormick 1986), Skeleton Green (Ashdown and Evans 1981) and Gorhambury (Locker 1990).

	Gorhambury	Skeleton Green	Baldock
Pig/Sow/Boar bones	27%	40%	11%
Sheep/Goat/Ram bones	26%	20%	57%
Cow/Bull bones	46%	30%	26%
Pig/Sow/Boar coins	0% (0)	14% (2)	27% (3)
Sheep/Goat/Ram coins	24% (1)	7% (1)	9% (1)
Cow/Bull coins	75% (3)	79% (11)	64% (7)

Table 28: Relative percentages of minimal numbers of animals compared with coins

The table shows that although the number of animal bones obviously fluctuates with clear selective variations between the three sites; this does not appear to be reflected in the recovered coin population. For instance, coins depicting bulls are numerous at all the sites yet it is only at Gorhambury where such bones outnumber the other species. The sheep bone at Skeleton Green is the smallest assemblage parallelling the coin assemblage as does the bovine bone at Gorhambury. However, the picture is inversely proportional for the largest bone assemblages at Baldock where sheep bones predominate but coins depicting ovicaprids are proportionally the smallest assemblage and similarly at Skeleton Green where pig bone predominates but where coins depicting pig are considerably less

well represented. This may suggest some disproportionality in depositional practices: coins perhaps being used to represent animals where the appropriate animal is absent.

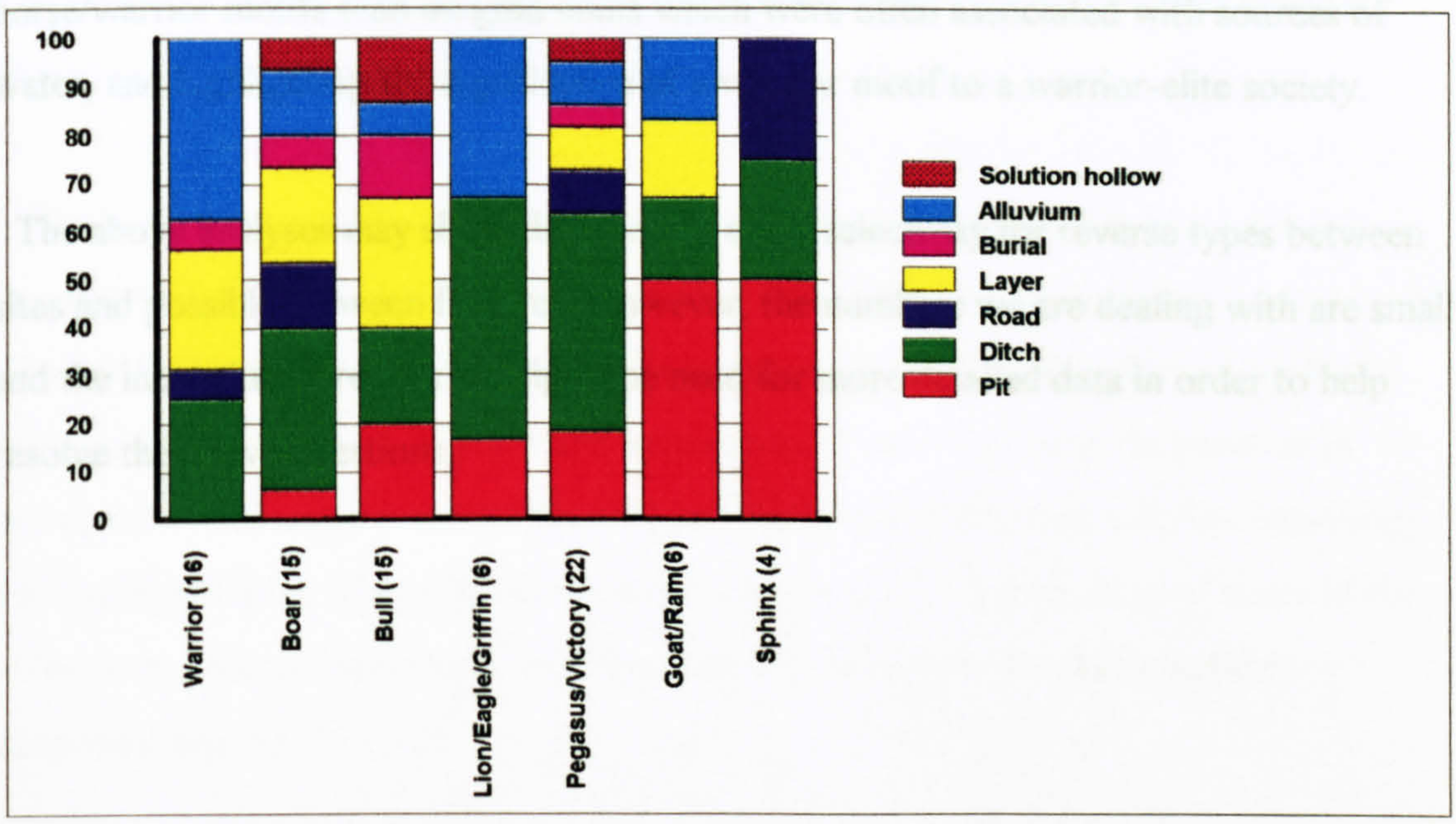

Fig 36: Analysis of feature type by figure type

Fig.36 shows the results of a comparative analysis of figure type and context. Only coins from LPRIA or early Roman contexts are included in the graph in order to remove chronological problems caused by possible changing depositional practices or redeposition in the Roman period (see above pp.128ff). The first conclusion to be drawn from the graph is that the types from layers (bulls, boars and warriors), are significantly less likely to come from pits. A possible explanation for this is that coins from layers were actually placed on or above the ground rather than within it, and therefore may in some instances equate with sky gods or goddesses while those from pits are more obviously associated with earth and chthonic gods.

Coins depicting bulls are particularly associated with burials, followed by boars, warriors and a Pegasus/victory issue which depicts victory sacrificing a bull. This may suggest that burials, although dug into the ground, are equated with the sky and not earth gods. The ten warrior-type coins of the same issue from the King Harry Lane burial are counted as one coin.

All figure types are found in ditches, but warrior types are absent from pits, as previously mentioned, this may be a function of the warrior motif being seen in

connection with sky, rather than earth chthonic gods. The warrior motif is also associated with alluvium (i.e. water deposits); there may be a link with the horse and horse/warrior motifs seen on gold coins which were often associated with sources of water, and highlighting the significance of a warrior motif to a warrior-elite society.

The above analyses may show that there is some selectivity for reverse types between sites and possibly between features. However, the numbers we are dealing with are small and the inconclusive results highlight the need for more detailed data in order to help resolve the above questions.

10. CONCLUSION

A number of conclusions have been reached in the previous sections and the more important points are summarised below.

The distribution studies produced a number of interesting results enabling existing hypotheses to be examined in the light of new data and new hypotheses to be developed. The results show that distribution studies remain a powerful tool in elucidating the primary circulation areas of coins and hence areas of political unity, the position of possible boundaries between such areas, possible issuing authority, relative chronology and the significance of metallic composition. The geographical location of many of the coins near water sources, such as spring lines, has helped to determine possible functional aspects.

A distribution/expansion hypothesis has been proposed to introduce a non-stylistic approach to calculating the relative chronology of the issues of Tasciovanus which may become more clearly defined in the light of new finds. However, more work is needed to test the position and number of boundaries and to make a detailed reassessment and comparison with the results of the various stylistic analyses.

Histograms are another way of looking at regional trends and enable individual site chronology and political orientation to be determined when compared to the regional background. Weekley demonstrates a change in political control and reinforces the point that boundaries were not static but were in a state of flux. More work on potential boundary settlements may reveal other sites like Weekley.

The results of the various analyses described above indicates that previous studies have been shown to be incorrect mainly because their conclusions were based on a comparative lack of data. This highlights the problem of drawing conclusions from incomplete databases, and although we continue to add more find spots to the data we can never be sure that future finds will not render particular distribution studies obsolete. Consequently it is important to reappraise distributions as new data become available.

Important conclusions were reached in the second part of the thesis from an archaeological study of the types of site coins are recovered from, the type and dates of features within such sites, and detailed contextual analyses concerning material associations and position within the features. This section of the thesis has been developed due to recent developments in ideas of structured deposition and material culture assemblage formation. Such processes are still largely misunderstood but work on other categories of find may produce results that have a strong relevance to coin deposition.

From the contextual analysis it would appear that the majority of Iron Age coins did not enter the archaeological record accidentally, but were deliberately deposited within features, and that the features in which they were positioned were selected by both feature type and its location within the site.

The majority of the coins come from late Iron Age contexts where it would appear that ditches, pits and watery places were the preferred depositional environment. Following the Roman invasion ditches remain significant features into which coins could be deposited but the use of pits as appropriate places for depositing coins all but disappears.

On both Iron Age and Roman sites, boundaries, and entrance ways in particular seem to be specifically demarcated by the deposition of coins. The significance of features containing coins is further emphasised by the quantity and quality of other small finds which have also been deliberately selected for inclusion and placed in them. The rich nature of these deposits would suggest a votive function. Such rich assemblages of finds which have been identified in both metal detected and excavated assemblages. The finds assemblages from these sites sets them apart from contemporary domestic sites and the sites can be seen to have many components, in terms of both find type and site morphology, which suggest a specialised religious aspect. There is a similar association between sites with coin finds, metal working and religious sites.

Therefore it would seem that coins had a specific votive function that precipitated their inclusion in specialised deposits particularly on specialised religious sites or sites with religious aspects. Coins made of gold seem to have been held in very special regard and

were only deposited at particularly important ritual sites and places. It is possible that the symbolism on coins was important in selecting which coins to deposit but these results are inconclusive.

To summarise, it would appear that coins that entered the archaeological record:

i) were deposited in a deliberate way

ii) were deliberately collected and curated for this purpose

iii) were closely associated with religious ritual activity

ii) this role continued into the Roman period

The methodology has only produced hypotheses on processes leading to deposition. The conclusions do not preclude that coins had an economic function, only that such a use did not normally result in the coin entering the archaeological record. Whatever the pre-depositional function was, is much harder to ascertain, as here we are dealing with something that leaves little archaeological evidence, i.e. the process and meaning of transferring a coin from one person to another. We need to think more about how we can identify the function of coins prior to deposition. Perhaps the only way of elucidating this is to examine the comparatively few contexts in detail that would appear, from the lack of structuring, to represent casual losses. Once a method has been identified it may be possible to see if the 'life use' function of coins changes during the late Iron Age and hence test the 'primitive valuable' to 'early cash' hypothesis .

There is scope to increase the study of the symbolism on coins by looking at various aspects of the iconography and how this may relate to other aspects of material culture such as depicted male/female deities and male/female related artefacts as well as the relationship of animal depictions and excavated bone assemblages.

Our conclusions support the value of the various methodologies involving the use of distribution studies and contextual analyses to produce hypotheses concerning the use and function of Iron Age coinages. They do highlight, however, the requirement of continued recording of find spots, contextual archaeological information and of the full recording of metal detecting assemblages in order to test and further develop hypotheses based on distribution analyses in the future. More work is also needed on contextual

analyses and structured deposition outside the study area to see if the results of this study are universal; while further detailed excavation and recording of new sites will produce more data for detailed analysis.